



HOLY STATE

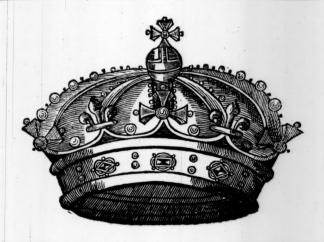
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THOMAS FULLER, B. D. and Prebendarie of Sarum.

ZECHARIAH 14. 20.

In that day shall there be upon the bells of the horses, HOLINESSE UNTO THE LORD.

The third Edition.



LONDON:

Printed by R. D. for John Williams, and are to be fold at the figne of the Crown in St. Pauls Churchyard, 1652.





To the Reader.

Ho is not sensible with sorrow of the distractions of this age? To write books therefore may seem unseasonable, especially in a time wherein the *Presse*, like an unruly horse, hath cast off his bridle of being *Licen*-

sed, and some serious books, which dare flie abroad, are

hooted at by a flock of Pamphlets.

But be pleased to know that when I left my home, it was fair weather, and my journey was half past, before I discovered the tempest, and had gone so farre in this VV ork, that I could neither go backward with credit, nor forward with comfort.

As for the matter of this Book, therein I am resident on my Prosession; Holinesse in the latitude thereof falling under the cognizance of a Divine. For curious method, expect none, Essays for the most part not being placed as

at a Feast, but placing themselves as at an Ordinary.

The characters I have conformed to the then standing Laws of the Realm, (a twelvemoneth ago were they sent to the Presse) since which time the wisdome of the King and State hath thought fitting to alter many things, and I expect the discretion of the Reader should make his alterations accordingly. And I conjure thee by all Christian A 3 ingenuity

ingenuity, that if lightning here on some passages, rather harsh-sounding then ill-intended, to construe the same by the generall drift and main scope which is aimed at.

Nor let it render the modestie of this Book suspected, because it presumes to appear in company unmann'd by any Patron: If right, it will defend it felf; if wrong, none can defend it: Truth needs not, Falsehood deserves not a Supporter. And indeed the matter of this VV ork is too high for a subjects, the workmanship thereof too low for a

Princes patranage.

And now I will turn my pen into prayer, That God would be pleafed to discloud these gloomy dayes with the beams of his mercy: which if I may be so happy as to see, it will then encourage me to count it freedome to serve two apprentiships (God spinning out the thick thred of my life so long) in writing the Ecclesiasticall History from Christs time to our dayes, if I shall from remoter parts be so planted, as to enjoy the benefit of walking, and standing Libraries, without which advantages the best vigilancie doth but vainly dream to undertake such a task.

Mean time I will stop the leakage of my soul, and what heretofore hath run out in writing, shall hereafter (God willing) be improved in constant preaching, in what place soever Gods providence, and friends good will shall

fix

Thine in all Christian offices.

THOMAS FULLER.

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The Holy State.

THE FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. I.

The good Wife.



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PAUL to the Colossians chap, 3. vers. 18. first adviserh women to submit themselves to their husbands, and then counselleth men to love their wives. And fure it was fixing that women, should first have their lesson given them, because it is hardest to

be learned, and therefore they need have the more time to conne it. For the same reason we first begin with the cha-

mater of a good Wife.

She commandesh her bushand in any equal matter, by conftant Maxime I beying him. It was always observed, that what the English gained of the French in battel by valour, the French regaindof the English by cunning in * Treaties: So if the hus- * comineus band should chance by his power in his passion to prejudice Bodinus De his wives right, the wifely knoweth by compounding and Repub. lib. 5. complying to recover and rectifie it again.

She never croffeth her husband in the spring-tide of his anger, but stayes till it be ebbing-mater. And then mildly the argues the matter, not so much to condemn him, as to acquit her self. Surely men, contrary to iron, are worst to be wrought upon when they are hot; and are farre more tractable in cold bloud. It is an observation of Seamen, That if a single

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CHAP. 2.

Book I.

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C H A P. 2.

The life of MONICA.

MONICA is better known by the branch of her issue, then root of her parentage, and was born in or night Tagasta in Africk. * Her parents, whose names we find not, were Christians, and carefull of her education, committing her to the breeding of an old maid in the house, who, though her self crooked with age, was excellent to straighten the manners of youth. She instructed her with holy severity, never allowing her to drink wine, or between meals.

* August.confess.lib.9.c.8.

meals. Having out-grown her tuition, she began by degrees to fip, and drink wine, leffer draughts like wedges widening her throat for greater, till atlast (ill customes being not knockt, but insensibly screw'd into our souls) she could fetch off her whole ones. Now it happened that a young maid (formerly her partner in potting) fell at variance with her, and (as malice when she shoots draws her arrow to the head) called her Tof-pot, and drunkard; whereupon Monica reformed her self, and turned temperate. Thus bitter taunts sometime make wholesome Phyfick, when God sanctifies unto us the malice of our enemies to perform the office of good will.

After this was the married to Patricius, one of more ho. nourthen wealth, and as yet a pagan; wherein she brake S.Pauls precept, To marry onely in the Lord. Perchance then there was a dearth of husbands, or she did it by her parents importunity, or out of promise of his conversion : and the history herein being but lamely delivered us, it is charity to support it with the most favourable construction. He was of aftern nature, none more lamb when pleased, or lion when angry; and which is worse, his wild * affections did festilib.9.c.9. prey abroad, till she lured them home by her loving behaviour. Not like those wives who by their hideous outcries drive their wandring husbands farther out of the way.

Her own house was to her a house of correction, wherein her husbands mother was bitter unto her, having a quarrell not so much to her person as relation, because a daughter in law. Her servants, to climbe into the favour of their old mistresse, trampled on their young, they bringing tales, and the old woman belief; though the teeth of their malice did but file her innocency the brighter. Yea at last her mother in law, turning her compurgatour, caused her sonne to punish those maids which causelelly had wronged their

miltreffe.

When her neighbours, which had husbands of far milder dispositions, would shew her their husbands cruelty legible in their faces, all her pitying was reproving them: and B 3 whereas

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* August.confessib.6 c. 2. whereas they expected to be praifed for their patience, she condemned them for deserving such punishment. She never had blow from, or jarre with her husband, she so suppled his hard nature with her obedience, and to her great comfort saw him converted to Christianity before his death. Also she saw Augustine her son, formerly vitious in life, and erroneous in doctrine (whose soul she bathed in her Tears) become a worthy Christian, who coming to have his eares tickled, had his heart touched, and got Religion in to book with the eloquence of S. Ambrose. She survived not long after her sonnes conversion, (God sends his servants to be when they have done their work) and her candle was put out, as soon as the day did dawn in S. Augustine.

Take an instance or two of her signall piety. There was a custome in * Africk to bring pulse bread and wine to the monuments of dead Saints, wherein Monica was as forward as any. But being better instructed that this custome was of heathenish parentage, and that religion was not so poor as to borrow rites from pagans, she instantly left off that ceremony: and as for pieties sake she had done it thus long, so for pietie's sake she would do it no longer. How many old solkes now adayes, whose best argument is use, would have slown in their faces, who should stop themin

the full carier of an ancient custome.

There was one Licentius a novice-convert, who had got these words by the end, Turn us again, O Lord God of hosts: shew us the light of thy countenance, and we shall be whole. And (as it is the fashion of many mens tongues to echo forth the last sentence they learn) he said it in all places he went to. But Monica, over-hearing him to sing it in the house of office, was * highly offended at him: because holy things are to be suited to holy places; and the harmony could not be sweet where the song did jarre with the place. And although some may say, that a gracious heart consecrateth every place into a Chappell; yet sure though pious things are no where unsitting to be thought on, they may somewhere be improper to be uttered.

* August lib. 1. De ordine, c.8.

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Drawing near her death, she sent most pious thoughts as harbingers to heaven, and her foul faw a glimple of happinelle through the chinks of her ficknelle-broken body. She was so inflamed with zeal, that she turned all objects into fewell to feed it. One day standing with S. Augustine at an East-window, * she raised her self to consider the light of Gods presence, in respect whereof all corporall light is lo farre from being match'd, it deserves not to be mentioned. Thus mounted on heavenly meditations, and from that high pirch surveying earthly things, the great distance made them appear unto her like a little point, scarce to be seen, and lesse to be respected.

August.com feff. lib 9 6.10.

She dyed at Offia in Italy in the fiftie fixth year of her age, Augustine closing her eyes, when through grief he had scarce any himfelt.

Снар. 3.

The good Husband.

T Aving formerly described a good Wife, she will make a good Husband, whose character we are now to prelent.

His love to his wife weakeneth not his ruling her, and his ruling Maxime 1 Wherefore he avoideth all fondleffeneth not his loving her. nelle, (a lick love, to be praised in none, and pardoned one. ly in the newly married) whereby more have wilfully betrayed their command, then ever lost it by their wives rebellion. Methinks that he-viper is right enough served, which (as * Pliny reports) puts his head into the she-vipers mouth, and she bites it off. And what wonder is it if cap. 62. women take the rule to themselves, which their uxorious husbands first surrender unto them?

He is constant to his wife, and confident of her. And sure where Jealousie is the Jailour, many break the prison, it opening more wayes to wickednesse then it stoppeth; so that where it findeth one, it maketh ten dishonest.

bift. lib. 10.

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He is carefull that the wounds betwixt them take not ayre, and be publickly known. Jarres conceald are half reconciled; which if generally known, 'tis a double task to stop the breach at home, and mens mouths abroad. To this end he never publickly reproves her. An open reproof puts her to do penance before all that are present, after which many rather study revenge then reformation.

He keeps her in the wholsome ignorance of unnecessary secrets. They will not be starved with the ignorance, who perchance may surfet with the knowledge of weighty Counsels, too heavie for the weaker sex to bear. He knows little, who will tell his wise all he knows.

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He beats not his wife after his death. One having a shrewd wife, yet loth to use her hardly in his life time, awed her with telling her that he would beat her when he was dead, meaning that he would leave her no maintenance. This humour is unworthy a worthy man, who will endeavour to provide her a competent estate: yet he that impoverishes his children to enrich his widow, destroyes a quick hedge to make a dead one.

Снар. 4.

The life of ABRAHAM.

I Intend not to range over all his life as he stands threesquare in relation, Husband, Father, Master. We will onely survey and measure his conjugal side, which respecteth his wife.

We reade not that ever he upbraided her for her barrennesse, as knowing that natural desects are not the creatures
small, but the Creatours pleasure: all which time his love
was loyall to her alone. As for his going in to Hagar, it was
done not onely with the consent, but by the advice of Sarah,
who was so ambitious of children she would be made a
mother by a proxie. He was not jealous of her (though a
grand beauty) in what company soever he came. Indeed
the seared the Egyptians, because the Egyptians seared not
God; suspecting rather them of force, then her of falsenesse,
and believing that sooner they might kill him, then cormpt her.

Yet (as well as he loved her) he expected she should do work fit for her calling. Make ready quickly three measures of meal and knead it. Well may Sarah be cook, where Abraham was caterer, yea where God was guest. The print of her singers still remain in the meal, and of crumbling dow she hath made a lasting monument of her good huswifry.

Being falsely indited by his wife, he never travers'd the bill.

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bill, but compounded with her on her own terms. The cale this. Hagar being with child by Abraham, her pride sweld with her belly, and despiseth her mistresse: Sarah, laying her action wrong, sues Abraham for her maids fault, and appeals to God. I see the Plaintiss hath not alwayes the best cause; nor are they most guilty which are most blamed. However Abraham passes by her peevishnesse, and remits his maid to stand or fall to her own mistresse. Though he had a great part in Hagar, he would have none in Hagars rebellion. Masters which protect their faulty servants, hinder the proceeding of justice in a family.

He did deny himself to grant his wives will in a matter of great consequence. Sarah desired, Cast out this bondwoman and her son. Oh hard word! She might as well have said, Cast out of thy self nature and natural affection. See how Abraham struggles with Abraham, the Father in him striving with the Husband in him, till God moderated with his casting-voice, and Abraham was contented to hearken

to the counsel of his wife.

Being to sacrifice Isac, we find not that he made Sarah privie to his project. To tell her, had been to torture her, fearing her affections might be too strong for her saith. Some secrets are to be kept from the weaker sex; not always out of a distrust, lest they hurt the counsel by telling it, but

lest the counsel hurt them by keeping it.

The dearest Husband cannot bail his wife when death arrests her. Sarah dies, and Abraham weeps. Tears area tribute due to the dead. Tis fitting that the body when it's sown in corruption should be watered by those that plantit in the earth. The Hittites make him a fair offer, In the chiefest of our sepulchres bury thy dead: But he thinks the best of them too bad for his Sarah. Her chast ashes did love to lie alone; he provides her a virgin tombe in the cave of Machpelah, where her corps sweetly sleep till he himself came to bed to her, and was buried in the same grave.

CHAP.5

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CHAP. 5.

The good Parent.

TE beginneth his care for his children not at their birth but conception, giving them to God to be, if not (as *Hannah did) his Chaplains, at least his servants. This * 1. Sam. 1. care he continueth til the day of his death, in their Infancy, Youth, and Mans estate. In all which,

He sheweth them in his own practise what to follow and imitate; Maxime I and in others, what to shun and avoid. For though The words of the wife be as * nayles fastened by the masters of the Assemblies, yet, * Eccles. 12. fure their examples are the hammer to drive them in to take the deeper hold. A father that whipt his sonne for swearing, and swore himself whilst he whipt him, did more harm by his example then good by his correction.

He doth not welcome and imbrace the first essayes of sinne in his children. Weeds are counted herbs in the beginning of the spring: nettles are put in pottage, and sallats are made of eldern-buds. Thus fond fathers like the oaths and wanton talk of their little children, and please themselves to hear them displease God. But our wise Parent both instructs his children in Piety, and with correction blasts the first buds of profanenesse in them. He that will not use the rod on his child, his child shall be used as a rod on him.

He observeth * Gavel-kind in dividing his affections, though not his estate. He loves them (though leaves them not) all alike. Indeed his main land he fettles on the eldest: for where man takes away the birth-right, God commonly takes away the blelsing from a family. But as for his love, therein, like a well-drawn picture, he eyes all his children alike, (if there be a parity of deferts) not parching one to drown another. Did not that mother shew little wit in her great partiality, who when her neglected sonne complained that his brother (her darling) had hit and hurt him with a stone, whipt him onely for standing in the way where the stone went which his brother cast? This partiality is tyrannie, when

* Gives each child a part. Versteg. Of decayed intell, cap. 3.

more healthfull for it afterwards.

* Exod. 2. 4

He moves him to marriage rather by argument drawn from his good, then his own authority. It is a style too Princely for Parent berein, To will and command, but fure he may will and defire. Affections like the conscience are rather to be led then drawn; and tis to be feared, They that many where they do not love, will love where they do not many.

to put out his life. The rather, because their souls, who have broken and run out in their youth, have proved the

He doth not give away his loaf to his children, and then come to them for a piece of bread. He holds the reins (though loosely)

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in his own hands, and keeps to teward duty, and punish undutifulnesse; yet on good occasion for his childrens advancement he will depart from part of his means. Base is their nature who will not have their branches lopt, till their bodie be fell'd; and will let go none of their goods, as if it presaged their speedy death: whereas it doth not follow that he that puts off his cloke must presently go to bed.

on his death-bed be bequeaths his blessing to all his children: Nor rejoyceth he so much to leave them great portions, as honeftly obtained. Onely money well and lawfully gotten is good and lawfull money. And if he leaves his children young, he principally nominates God to be their Guardian, and next him is carefull to appoint provident overseers.

CHAP. 6.

ong many : The good Child.

Freverenceth the person of his Parent though old, poore, and froward. As his Parent bare with him when a child, he bears with his Parent if twice a child: nor doth his dignity above him, cancell his duty unto him. When the Thomas More was Lord Chancellour of England, and St. John his father one of the Judges of the Kings Bench, he would in Westminster-Hall beg his blessing of him on his knees.

He observes his lawfull commands, and practifeth his precepts with all obedience. I cannot therefore excuses. Barbara from undutifulatife, and occasioning her own death. The matter this. Her father being a pagan commanded his workmen building his house, to make two windows in a room: Barbara, knowing her fathers pleasure, in his absence injoyned them to make three, that seeing them she might the better contemplate the mystery of the holy Trinky. Methinks two windows might as well have raised her medications, and the light arising from both, would as properly have minded her of the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father winded her of the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father the Sonne.) Her sather enraged at his return, thus came to the

Maxime 1

*Stapleton. in vita Tho. Mori, cap. 1.

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*Alphonf.Villeg. in the life of Barbara on the 4. of Decemb.

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the knowledge of her religion, and accused her to the ma.

gistrate, which cost her her life.

Having practifed them himself, he entayls his Parents precepts on his posterity. Therefore such instructions are by Solomon, Proverbs 1.9. compared to frontlets and chains (not to a sute of clothes, which serves but one, and quickly wears out, or out of fashion) which have in them a reall lasting worth, and are bequeathed as legacies to another age. The same counsels observed are chains to grace, which neglected prove halters to strangle undutifull children.

He is patient under correction, and thankfull after it. When Mr West, formerly Tutour (such I count in loco parentis) to Dr. Whitaker, was by him, then Regius Professor, created Doctour, Whitaker solemnly gave him thanks before the University for giving him correction when his young

scholar.

In marriage he first and last consults with his father: when propounded, when concluded. He best bowls at the mark of his own contentment, who besides the aim of his owneys, is directed by his father, who is to give him the ground.

He is a stork to his parent, and seeds him in his old age. Not onely if his father hath been a pelican, but though he hath been an estridge unto him, and neglected him in his youth. He confines him not a long way off to a short pension, forseited if he comes in his presence; but shews piety at home, and learns (as S. Paul saith the 1. Timothy 5. 4.) to requite his Parent. And yet the debt (I mean onely the principall, not counting the interest) cannot fully be paid, and therefore he compounds with his father to accept in good worth the utmost of his endeavour.

Such a child God commonly rewards with long life in this world. If he chance to die young, yet he lives long that lives well; and time mispent is not lived but lost. Besides, God is better then his promise, if he takes from him a long lease, and gives him a free-hold of better value. As for disobedient children,

If preserved from the gallows, they are reserved for the rack, to be tortured

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tortured by their own posteritie. One complained, that never fathet had so undutifull a child as he had. Yes, said his sonne. with leffe grace then truth, my grandfather had.

Leanclude this subject with the example of a Pagans sonne, which will shame most Christians. Pomponius * Atticus, making the funerall oration at the death of his mother, did protest that living with her threescore and seven years, he was never reconciled unto her, Se nunquam cum matre in gratiam rediffe; because (take the comment with the text) there never happened betwixt them the least jarre which needed reconciliation.

* In vita Attici in fine E. pist. ad Auic.

CHAP. 7. The good Master.

TE is the heart in the midst of his houshold, primum vivens I wultimum moriens, first up and last abed, if not in his perlon yet in his providence, In his carriage he aimeth at his own and his servants good, and to advance both.

He overfees the works of his servants. One said that the dust that Maxime 1 fell from the masters shooes was the best compost to mamure ground. The lion * out of state will not run whilst any one looks upon him; but some servants out of slothfulnesse will not run except some do look upon them, spurr'd on with their Mafters eye. Chiefly he is carefull exactly to take his servants reckonings. If their Master takes no account of them, they will make imall account of him, and care not what they spend who are never brought to an audit.

He provides them victualls, wholfome, sufficient, and seasonable. He doth not so allay his servants bread or debase it so much as to make that servants meat which is not mans meat. He alloweth them also convenient rest and recreation, whereas some Masters, like a bad conscience, will not suffer them to step that have them. He remembers the old law of the Saxon King Ina, * If a willain work on Sunday by his lords command, he shall be free.

The wages he contracts for he duly and truly payes to his servants. C 2

* S. H. Spilman in conciliis, An. ch. 692.pag. 188.

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The same word in the Greek in fignifies rust and poison: and some strong poylon is made of the rust of metals, but none more venomous then the rust of money in the rich mans purse unjustly detained from the labourer, which will poison and infect his whole estate.

* Ephcf. 6.9.

5

He never threatens * his servant but rather presently corrects him. Indeed conditionall threatnings with promise of pardon on amendment are good and usefull. Absolute threatnings torment more, reform leffe, making servants keep their faults. and forfake their Masters: wherefore herein he never pass. feth his word, but makes present paiment, lest the creditour

runne away from the debtour.

In correcting his servant, he becomes not a flave to his own passion, Not cruelly making new indentures of the flesh of his apprentice. To this end he never beats him in the height of his palsion, Moles being to fetch water out of the rock, and com. manded by God only to speak to it with his rod in his hand being transported with anger smote it thrice. Thus some Masters, which might fetch penitent tears from their servants with a chiding word, (onely shaking the rod withall for terrour) in their fury strike many blows which might beter be spared. If he perceivs his servant incorrigible, so that he cannot wash the black-moore, he washeth his hands of him, and fairly puts him away.

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I-le is tender of his servant in sicknesse and age. If crippled in his service, his house is his hospitall: yet how many throw away those dry bones out of which themselvs have suckth marrow? It is as usuall to see a young serving-man an old beggar, as to see a light-horse first from the great saddle of Nobleman to come to the hackney-coach, and at last die in drawing a carre. But the good Master is not like the cruell hunter in the fable, who beats his old dogge be cause his toothlesse mouth let go the game; he rather imitates the noble nature of our Prince Henry, who took order for the keeping of an * old English mastiffe which had made a Lion runne away. Good reason good service in age should be rewarded. Who can without pity and plealure

* Hows continuar. of Stows Chron. pa. 836.

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skafiire behold that trusty vessell which carried St. Francis Drakeabout the world.

Hitherto our discourse hath proceeded of the carriage of Mafters toward free covenant fervants, not intermedling with their behaviour towards flaves and vasfals, whereof we onely report this passage: When Charles the fifth Emmerour returning with his fleet from Algier was extremely bracen with attempelt, and the ships overloaden, he caused them to cast their best horses into the sea to save the life of many * flaves, which according to the market price were part. 3. De itnot fo much worth. Are there not many that in fuch a case less distributed. had rather fave Jack the horse then Jocky the keeper? And res. yet those who first called England the Purgutory of fervants, fore did us much wrong: Purgatory it felf being as falle in the application to us, as in the doctrine thereof; fervants with our living generally in as good conditions as in any other downcrey. And well may mafters confider how easie a mansbostion it had been for God, to have made him to mount into the faddle that holds the stirrop, and him to fit down at the table, who stands by with a trencher.

CHAP 8.

The good Servant.

I E is one that out of conscience serves God in his Ma-1 I fter, and so hath the principle of obedience in himless. As for those servants who found their obedience on some externall thing, with engines, they will go no longer then they are wound, or weighed up.

He doth not dispute his Masters lawfull will, but doth it. Hence it Maxime I is that simple servants (understand such whose capacity is bare measure, without surplusage, equall to the businesse they are used in) are more usefull, because more manageable, then abler men, especially in matters wherein not their brains but hands are required. Yet if his Master out of want of expemence injoyns him to do what is hurtfull, and prejudiciall to his own estate, duty here makes him undutifull (if not

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to deny, to demurre in his performance) and chusing rather to displease then hurt his master, he humbly represents

his reasons to the contrary.

He loves to go about his businesse with chearfulnesse. One said, He loved to hear his carter though not his cart to sing. God lovethat chearfull giver: and Christ reproved the Pharisees for disfiguring their faces with a sad countenance. Fools! who to perswade men that Angels lodged in their hearts, hung out a devil for a signe in their faces. Sure chearfulnesse in doing renders a deed more acceptable. Not like those servants, who doing their work unwillingly, their looks do enter a protessation against what their hands are doing.

He dispatcheth his business with quickness and expedition. Hence the same English word Speed signifies celerity, and successe the former in business of execution causing the later. Indeed haste and rashnesse are storms and tempests, breaking and wrecking businesse; but nimblenesse is a fair full wind, blowing it with speed to the haven. As he is good at hand so he is good at length, continually and constantly careful in his service. Many servants, as if they had learn'd the nature of the besoms they use, are good for a few dayes, and

afterwards grow unserviceable.

He disposeth not of his masters goods without his privity or consent: no not in the smallest matters. Open this wicket, and it will be in vain for masters to shut the doore. If servants presume to dispose small things without their masters allowant, (besides that many little leaks may sink a ship) this will widen their consciences to give away greater. But though he hath not alwayes a particular leave, he hath a generall grant, and a warrant dormant from his master to give an almes to the poor in his absence, if in absolute necessity.

His answers to his master are true, direct, and dutifull. If a dumb devil possesses a fervant, a winding cane is the fittest circle, and the master the exorcist to drive it out. Some servants are so talkative, one may as well command the echo as them not to speak last; and then they count themselves conquerous, because last they leave the field. Others, though they seem to

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The Scripture presents us with a remarkable president of ter, Rivet on *his piety, in a matter of great moment: Abraham, being ereit. 111. to fend him into Mesopotamia, caused him to swear that he with many

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would faithfully fetch sfaac a wife from his own kindred. Eliezer deniur'd a while before he would swear, carefully surveying the latitude of his oath, lest some unseen ambushes therein should surprize his conscience. The most scrupulous to take an oath will be the most carefull to perform it, whereas those that swear it blindly will do it lamely. He objects, Peradventure the woman shall not be willing to solve me. At last being fatisfied in this quare, he takes the oath: as no honest man which means to pay, will resuse to give his bond if lawfully required.

He takes ten carnells (then the coaches of the East-countrey) with servants and all things in good equipage, to shew a sample of his Masters greatnesse; and being a stranger in the countrey asked direction of him who best knew the way, God himself. If any object that his craving of a sign was a signe of inside lity, and unmannerly boldnesse to confine God to particulars; yet perchance Gods spirit prompted him to make the request, who sometimes moves mento ask what he is minded to give, and his petition seemeth just

because granted.

Rebecca meets him at the well. The lines drawn from every part of the figne required centre themselves in her. Drink my Lord, said she, and I will draw water for thy camels. Her words prophesse that she will be a good housewise, and a good housekeeper. Eliezers eyes are dazzled with the beams of Gods providence: Her drawing of water draw more wonder from him; and the more he drinks of her pitcher, the more he is athirst to know the issue of the matter. He questions her of her parentage, and finds all his mysticall expectation historically expounded in her. Then he bowed down his head, and did homage to Gods providence, blessing him for his protection. Many favours which God giveth us ravell out for want of hemming, through our own unthankfulnesse: for though prayer purchaseth blessings, giving praise doth keep the quiet possession of them.

Being come into the house, his first care is for his cattel, whose dumbnesse is oratory to a conscientious man; and

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he that will not be mercifull to his beaft, is a beaft himfelf. Then preferring his message before his meat, he empties his mind before he fills his body. No dainties could be digested, whilst his errand like a crudity lay on his stomach.

In delivering his message, first he reads his commission. Iam Abrahams servant; then he reports the fulnesse of his Masters wealth without any hyperboles. How many, employed in such a matter, would have made mountains of gold of molehills of filver? not so Eliezer, reporting the bare truth; and a good estate if told, commends it self. As plain also is his narration of the passages of Gods providence, the artificial nesse whereof best appeared in his natural relation. Then concludes he, with defiring a direct answer to his motion.

The matter was foon transacted betwixt them; for feeing that heaven did ask the banes, why should earth forbid them? Only her friends defire Rebecca should stay ten dayes with them, which Eliezer would not yield to. He would speedily finish that bargain whereof God had given the happy earnest; and because blest hitherto, make more hast hereafter. If in a dark businesse we perceive God to guide us by the lantern of his providence, it is good to follow the light dose, lest we lose it by our lagging behind. He will not truant it now in the afternoon, but with convenient speed returns to Abraham, who onely was worthy of such a Servant, who onely was worthy of such a Mafter.

CHAP. 10.

The good Widow.

C He is a woman whose head hath been quite cut off, and yet she liveth, and hath the second part of virginity. Conceive her to have buried her Husband decently according to his quality and condition, and let us see how she behaves her felf afterwards.

Her grief for her Husband though reall, is moderate. Excel Maxime 1 live was the forrow of King Richard the second, beseeming him

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* Weaver, fun. monum. p. 473. out of Stows Annals.

him neither as a King, man, or Christian, who so ferventy loved Anna of Bohemia his Queen, that when she dyed a Shean in Surrey, he both cursed the place, and also ontof madnesse * overthrew the whole house.

But our widows forrow is no storm but a still rain. Indeed some foolishly discharge the surplusage of their passions on themselves, tearing their hair, so that their friends coming to the funerall, know not which most to be moan, the dead husband, or the dying widow. Yet commonly it comes to passe, that such widows grief is quickly emptyed, which streameth out at so large a vent; whilest their tears that but drop, will hold running a long time.

She continues a competent time in her widows estate. Anciently they were at least to live out their annum luctus, their year of sorrow. But as some * erroneously compute the long lives of the Patriarchs before the flood not by solary, but lunary years, making a moneth a year: so many overhalty widows cut their year of mourning very short, and within sew weeks make post speed to a second marriage.

She doth not onely live fole and fingle, but chast and honest. We know petthouses alwayes stand alone, and yet are sull of infectious diseases. Solitarinesse is not an infallible argument of sanctity: and it is not enough to be unmarried, but to be undefiled.

Though going abroad sometimes about her businesse, she never makes it her businesse to go abroad. Indeed man goeth forth to his labour; and a widow in civil affairs is often forced to acta double part of man and woman, and must go abroad to solicite her businesse in person, what she cannot do by the proxie of her friends. Yet even then she is most carefull of her credit, and tender of her modesty, not impudently thrusting into the society of men. Oh tis improper for the der to strike fire, and for their sex which are to be sued to, first to intrude, and offer their sompany.

She loves to look on her husbands picture, in the children he hath left her: not foolishly fond over them for their fathers sake, (this were to kill them in honour of the dead) but giveth

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* Vid. August. de civitate Dei lib. 5. cap. 12.

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them carefull education. Her husbands friends are ever her welcomests guests, whom she entertaineth with her best cheer, and with honourable mention of their friends, and her husbands memorie.

If she can sheak little good of him, she sheaks but little of him. So handsomely folding up her discourse, that his virtues are shown outwards, and his vices wrapped up in silence, as counting it Barbarisme to throw dirt on his memorie who hath moulds cast on his body. She is a champion for his credit if any speak against him Foolish is their project who by raking up bad savour against their former husbands think thereby to persume their bed for a second marriage.

She putteth her especiall considence in Gods providence. Surely if he be a father to the fatherlesse, it must need follow that he is an husband to the widow. And therefore she seeks to gain and keep his love unto her, by her constant prayer and religious life

She will not morgage her first husbands pawns, thereby to purchase the good will of a second. If she marrieth (for which she hath the Apostles licence, not to say mandate, I will that the younger widows marry) she will not abridge her children of that which justly belongs unto them. Surely a broken faith to the former is but a weak foundation to build thereon a loyall affection to a latter love. Yet if she becomes a mother in law, there is no difference betwixt her carriage to her own and her second husbands children, save that she is severest to her own, over whom she hath the sole jurisdiction. And if her second husbands children by a former wise commit a fault, she had rather bind them over to answer for it before their own father, then to correct them her self, to avoid all suspicion of hard using of them.

CHAP. II.



CHAP. II.

The life of the Lady PAULA.

of upright conversation, must you needs gather one crooked with superstition to be pattern to all the rest? must Paula be their president? whose life was a very masse book, so that if every point of popery were lost, they might be found in her practice.

Nothing lesse. Indeed Paula lived in an age which was, as I may say, in the knuckle and bending betwixt the primi-

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tive times and superstition, Popery being then a hatching, but farre from being sledg'd. Yea no Papist (though picking out here and there somepassages which make to his purpose) will make her practise in grosse the square of his own: for where she embraces some superstitions with her less hand, she thrusts away more with her right. I have therefore principally made choice to write her life, that I may acquaint both my self and the reader with the garb of that age in Church-matters, wherein were many remarkable passages, otherwise I might and would have taken a sarre fitter example.

I know two trades together are too much for one man to thrive upon; and too much for me it is to be an Historian and a Critick, to relate and to judge: yet fince Paula, though a gracious woman, was guilty of some great errours, give me leave to hold a pencil in one hand, and a spunge in the other, both to draw her life and dash it where it is faultie. And let us that live in purer times be thankfull to God for our light, and use our quicker sight to guide our feet in Gods

paths, lest we reel from one extremity to another.

To come to the Lady Paula's birth: the Noblest blood in the world by a confluence ran in her veins. I must confesse the most ancient Nobilitie is junior to no Nobilitie, when all men were equall. Yet give others leave to see Moses his sace to shine, when he knew it not himself: and seeing Paula was pleased not to know, but to neglect and trample on her birth, we are bound to take notice thereof. She was descended from * Agamemnon, Scipio, and the Gracchi, and her husband Toxotius from * Æneas, and the Julian samilie; so that in their marriage the warrs of the Grecians and Trojans were reconciled.

Some years they lived together in the Citie of Rome, in holy and happy wedlock, and to her husband she bare four daughters, Blesilla, Paulina, Eustochium, and Russina. Yet still her husband long'd for posteritie, like those who are so covetous of a male heir, they count none children but sonnes: and at last God, who keeps the best for the

* Hieron.
Epift. ad Euflocb. pag.
185.
* Idem in
eadem epift. p.

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close, bestowed Toxotius, a young sonne upon her.

But commonly after a great bleffing comes a great croffe: scarce was she made a mother to a sonne, when she was made a widow, which to her was a great and grievous affliction. But as a rubbe to an overthrown bowl proves an help by hindering it; so afflictions bring the souls of Gods Saints to the mark, which otherwise would be gone and transported with too much earthly happinesse. However Paula grieved little leffe then excessively hereat, she being a woman that in all her actions (to be sure to do enough)

made alwayes measure with advantage.

Yet in time the overcame her forrow, herein being affifted by the counfell and comfort of S. Hierome, whole constant frequenting of her, commented upon by his enemies malice, (which will pry narrowly and talk broadly) gave occasion to the report, that he accompanied with her for dishonest intent. Surely if the accusations of slanderous tongues be proofs, the primitive times had no Churches but stews. It is to be suspected that * Ruffin his sworn enemie raised the report; and if the Lady Paula's memorie wanted a compurgatour, I would be one my self, it being improbable that those her eyes would burn with lust which were constantly drowned with tears. But the reader may find S. Hierome purging * himself; and he who had his tongue and an innocent heart needed no body else to speak for him.

* In epifiola que incipit, Si tibi putem, tom. 2. fel. 368.

* Erasmus in

scholia in epi-

ıæ p. 193.

* Hieronym. Epift.pradiat. pag. 172.

It happened that the Bishops of the East and West were fummoned by the * Emperours letters to appear at Rome for the according of some differences in the Church. (It feems by this that the Pope did not so command in chief at Rome, but that the power of congregating Synods still resided in the Emperour.) Hither came Paulinus Bishop of Antioch, and Epiphanius Bishop of Salamine in Cyprus, who lodged at the Lady Paula's ; and his virtues so wrought upon her, that she determined to leave her native countrey, and to travell into the East, and in Judea to spend the remainder of her life. The reasons that moved her to remove, were because Rome was a place of riot and luxury, her soul as

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being almost stilled with the frequencies of Ladies visits; and she seared courtesse in her would justle out piety, she being fain to crowd up her devotions to make room for civil entertainments. Besides, of her own nature she ever loved privacie and a sequestred life, being of the Pelicans nature, which use not to she in slocks. Lastly, she conceived that the sight of those holy places would be the best comment on the History of the Bible, and fasten the passages shereof in her mind. Wherefore she intended to survey all Palestine, and at last to go to Bethlehem, making Christs Inn her home, and to dy there where he was born, leaving three of her daughters, and her poor infant Toxotius behind her.

For mine own part, I think she had done as acceptable a deed to God, in staying behind to rock her child in the cradle, as to visit Christs manger, seeing grace doth not cut off the affections of nature, but ripen them: the rather, because Christianity is not naild to Christs Crosse and mount Calvary, nor Piety fastned (as we may say) to the free hold of the land of Palestine. But if any Papist make her a pattern for pilgrimages, let them remember that she went from Rome: and was it not an unnaturall motion in her to move from

that centre of Sanctity?

She with her daughter Eustochium began her journey, and taking Cyprus in her way, where she visited Epiphanius, she came at last to Judea. She measured that countrey with her travelling, and drew the truest map thereof with her own seet, so accurately that she lest out no particular place of importance. At last she was fixed at Bethlehem, where she built one monasterie for men, and three for women. It will be worth our pains to take notice of some principals of the orders she made in those feminine Academies; because Paula's practice herein was a leading case, though those that came after her went beyond her. For in the rules of monasticall life, Paula stood at the head game, and the Papists in after ages, desirous to better her hand, drew themselves quite out.

Each Monastery had a chief matron, whilst Paula was
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Principal over all. These societies were severed at their meat and work, but met together at their prayers: they were carefully kept apart from men, not like those Epicæne monasteries not long since invented by Joan Queen of Sweden, wherein men and women lived under one roof, not to speak of worse libertines. Well were Nunnes called Recluses, which according to the true meaning of the word significant those which are set wide open, or left at liberty, though that Barbarous age mistook the sense of the word, for such as were shut up, and might not stirre out of their * Cloyster.

* Mane, horâ tettiâ, sextâ, nonâ, vesperi. Hieron. in præfat. Epist. p. 180. Surely living in Palestine, he meaneth the

Fewish compu-

tation of houres.

* Littleton, fol.

They used to sing Hallelujah, which serv'd them both for a psalm, and a bell to call them all together. In the * morning, at nine a clock, at noon, at three a clock in the asternoon, and at night they had prayers, and sang the psalmes in order. This I believe gave original to canonical houres. The Apostles precept is the plain song, Pray continually; and thus mens inventions ran their descants upon it, and confin'd it to certain houres. A practice in it self not so bad for those who have leisure to observe it, save that when devotion is thus artificially plaited into houres, it may take up mens minds in formalities to neglect the substance.

They rose also at midnight to sing psalms. A custome begun before in the time of persecution, when the Christians were forced to be Antipodes to other men, so that when it was night with others, it was day with them, and they then began their devotions. These night-prayers, begun innecessity, were continued in Paula's time in grateful remembrance, and since corrupted with superstition: the best is, their rising at midnight breaks none of our sleep.

These virgins did every day learn some part of the holy Scriptures; whereas those Nunnes which pretend to succeed them learn onely with post-horses to run over the stage of their beads, (so many Ave Maries, and Pater nosters) and are ignorant in all the Scripture besides. Such as were faulty, she caused to take their meat apart from others at the entrance of the dining-room, with which mild severity she reclaimed many: shame

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in ingenuous natures making a deeper impression then pain. Mean time I find amongst them no vow of virginity, no tyrannicall Penance, no whipping themselves; as if not content to interre their finnes in Christs grave, they had rather bury them in furrows digg'd in their own backs. They wrought hard to get their living, and on the Lords day alone went out of their Monasterie to hear Gods word.

Yet was she more rigid and severe towards her self, then to any of them, macerating her body with fasting, and refufing to drink any wine, when advised thereto by Physicians for her health. So that (as an * holy man complained of himself, whilest he went about to subdue an enemy he killd devot devotes a subject) she overturned the state of her bodie, and whilest she thought to snuff the candle put it quite out. Yea S. Hierome himself, what his Eloquence herein doth commend in her, his Charity doth excuse, and his Judgement doth * condemne. But we must charitably believe, that these her fastings proceeded out of true humiliation and forrow for her finnes; otherwise where opinion of merit is annexed to them, they are good onely to fill the body with wind; and the foul with pride. Certainly prodigious Popish self-penance is will-worship, and the purest Epicurisme, wherein pain is pleasant: for as long as people impose it on themselves, they do not deny there own will, but fulfill it; and whillt they beat down the body they may puff up the flesh.

Nor can her immoderate bounty be exculed, who gave all and more then all away, taking up money at interest to and leaving Eustochium her daughter give to the poor, deep in debt, a great charge, and nothing to maintain it. Sure none need be more bountifull in giving then the Sunne 19 11 thining, which though freely bestowing his beams on the world, keeps notwithstanding the body of light to him. lelf. Yea it is necessary that Liberality should as well have banks as a stream.

She was an excellent text-woman, yea could fay the holy Scriptures by heart, and attained to understand and speak the Hebrew tongue, a language which Hierome himself got with

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with great difficultie, and kept with constant use, (skill in Hebrew will quickly go out, and burn no longer then'tis blown) yet she in her old age did quickly learn it. She di. ligently heard Hierome expounding the old and new Testa. ment, asking him many doubts, and Quæres in difficult places, (fuch constant scouring makes our knowledge brighter) and would not suffer his judgement to stand neuter in hard points, but made him expresse the probable

opinion.

Most naturally flie from death; Gods Saints stand still till death comes to them; Paula went out to meet it, not to fay, call'd death unto her by consuming her self in fasting : she died in the fiftie fixth year of her age, and was solemnly buried in Bethlehem. People of all countreys flockt to her funerall: Bishops carried her corps to the grave: others car. ried torches and lamps before it; which though some may condemne to be but burning of day was no more then needed. The being buried in a grave or grot as an * eyewirnesse doth testifie. Psalmes were sung at her buriall in the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Syriack tongue, it being fit there should be a key for every lock, and languages to be understood by all the miscelany company there present.

Eustochium her daughter had little comfort to be Executrix or administratrix unto her, leaving her not a pennicof monie, great debts, and many brothers and fifters to provide for, quos sustentare arduum, abjicere impium, I like not this charitie reverled, when it begins farre off and neglects those at home.

To conclude, I can do her memorie no better right, then to confesse she was wrong in some things. Yet surely Gods glory was the mark she shot at, though herein the hand of her practife did sometime shake, and oftener the eye of her judgement did take wrong aim.

* G. Sandys Travells, pag. 179.

CHAP. 12.

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CHAP. 12.

The constant Virgin

TS one who hath made a resolution with her self to live chafte, and unmarried. Now there is a grand difference hetwixt a Resolution and a Vow. The former is a covenant drawn up betwixt the partie and her felf; and commonly runs with this clause, durante nostro beneplacito, as long as we shall think fitting; and therefore on just occasion she may give a release to her self. But in a vow God is interested as the Creditour, so that except he be pleased to give up the band, none can give an acquittance to themselves. Being now to describe the Virgin, let the reader know that Virginity belongs to both fexes; and though in courtefie we make our Maid a female, let not my pen be challenged of improprietie, if casually sometimes it light on the Masculine

Gender.

She chooseth not a single life solely for it self, but in reference to Maxime I the better serving of God. I know none but beggars that defire the Church-Porch to ly in, which others onely use as a passage into the Church. Virginity is none of those things to be defired in and for it felt, but because it leads a more convenient way to the worshiping of God, especially in time of persecution. For then if Christians be forced to run races for their lives, the unmarried have the advantage, lighter by many ounces, and freed from much incumbrance, which the married are subject to; who, though private persons, herein are like Princes, they must have their train follow them.

She improve th her single life there with to serve God the more confantly. Housekeepers cannot so exactly mark all their family-affairs, but that sometimes their ranks will be broken; which disorder by necessary consequence will dilturb their duties of pietie, to make them contracted, omitted, or unseasonably performed. The Apostle saith, Such shall have troubles in the flesh; and grant them sanctified troubles,

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Church;

troubles, yet even Holy-thistle and Sweet-brier have their prickles. But the Virgin is freed from these encumbrances. No lording Husband shall at the same time command her presence and distance, to be alwayes near in constant attendance, and alwayes to stand aloof off in an awfull observance; so that providing his break-fast hazards her soul to fast a meal of morning prayer: No crying Children shall drown her singing of psalmes, and put her devotion out of tune: No unfaithfull Servants shall force her to divide her eyes betwixt listing them up to God, and casting them down to oversee their work; but making her Closet her Chappel, she freely enjoyeth God and good thoughts at what time she pleaseth.

3

Yet in all her discourse she make than honourable mention of marriage. And good reason that virginity should pay a chief rent of honour unto it, as acknowledging her self to be a colonia deducta from it. Unworthy is the practife of those who in their discourse plant all their arguments point-blank to batter down the married effate, bitterly inveighing against it; yea base is the behaviour of some young men, who can speak nothing but Satyres against Gods ordinance of Mattimony, and the whole sex of women. This they do either out of deep dissimulation, to divert suspicion, that they may prey the farthest from their holes; or else they do it out of revenge: having themselves formerly lighted on bad wemen (yet no worse then they deserved) they curse all adventures because of their own shipwrack; or lastly, they don out of meer spite to nature and God himself: and pity it is but that their fathers had been of the same opinion, Yetis may be tolerable if onely in harmlesse mirth they chance to bestowa jest upon the follyes of married people. Thus when a gentlewoman told an ancient Batchelour who look'd very young, that she thought he had eaten a snake. No mistris (saith he) it is because I never meddled with any snakes which maketh me took fo young.

She counts her self better lost in a modest silence then found in a bold discourse. Divinity permits not women to speak in the

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Church, morality forbids maids to talk in the House, where She is farre from the humours their betters are present. of those, who (more bridling in their chinnes then their tongues) love in their constant prating to make sweet musick to their own ears, and harsh jarring to all the rest of the company: yea as some report of sheep, that when they run they are afraid of the noise of their own feet; so our Virgin is afraid to hear her own tongue runne in the presence of graver persons. She conceives the bold maintaining of any argument concludes against her own civil behaviour; and yet the will give a good account of any thing whereof the isquestioned, sufficient to shew her silence is her choice, not her refuge. In speaking the studiously avoids all suspicious expressions, which wanton apprehensions may colourably comment into obscenity.

fearing that being in the presence where treason against modesty is spoken, all in the place will be arraigned for principal: yea if silent, she is afraid to be taken to consent; if offering to consute it, she fears lest by stirring a dunghill, the savour may be more noysome. Wherefore that she may not suffer in her title to modesty, to preserve her right she enters a silent caveat by a blush in her cheeks, and embraceth the next opportunity to get a gaole-delivery out of that company where she was detained in durance. Now because we have mentioned Blushing, which is so frequent with virgins that it is called a maidens blush, (as if they alone had a patent to die this colour) give us leave a little to enlarge our selves on this subject:

der being pursued after seeks as it were to hide himself under the visard of a new face.

2 Blushing is othertimes rather a compurgatour then an accuser; not arising from guiltinesse in our Virgin, but from one of these reasons: First because she is surprised with a sudden accusation, and though armed with innocency, that she cannot be pierced, yet may she be amazed with so unexpected

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unexpected a charge. Secondly from sensiblenesse of disgrace, ashamed, though innocent, to be within the suspicion of such faults, and that she had carried her felf fo that any tongue durst be so impudent as to lay it to her charge. Thirdly from a disabilitie to acquit her felf at the instant: (her integrity wanting rather clearing then clearnesse) and perchance she wants boldnesse w traverse the action, and so non-suiting her self, she fear her cause will suffer in the judgements of all that be present: and although accused but in jest, the is jealous the accusation will be believed in earnest; and edge tools thrown in merriment may wound reputations. Fourthly out of mere anger: for as in fear the bloud makes not an orderly retreat but a confused flight to the heart; so in blushing the bloud sallies out into our Virgins cheeks, and feems as a champion to challenge the accuser for wronging her.

Where small faults are commutted blushing obtains a pardon of course with ingenuous beholders. As if she be guilty of casuall incivilities, or solocismes in manners occasioned by invincible ignorance, and unavoidable mistakes, in such a case blushing is a sufficient penance to restore

her to her state of innocency.

6

She imprisons not her self with a solemn was never to marry. For first, none know their own strength herein. Who hath saled about the world of his own heart, sounded each creek, surveyed each corner, but that still there remains therein much terra incognita to himself? Junius, at the first little better then a Misogynist, was afterwards so altered from himself, that he successively married four wives. Secondly, slessly corruption being pent will swell the more, and Shemei being confind to Jerusalem will have the greater mind to gad to Gath. I hirdly, the devil will have a fairer set mark to shoot at, and will be most busie to make people break their vow. Fourthly, God may justly desert people for snatching that to themselves, which is most proper for him to give, I mean, Continency. Object not, that thou wilt pray

* Junius in his life writ by himself.

CHAP. 13.

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CHAP. 13.

The life of HILDEGARDIS.

HIldegardis was born in Germany, in the County of Spanheim, in the year 1098. So that she lived in an age which we may call the first cock-crowing after the midnight of Ignorance and Superstition.

Her parents (Hidebert, and Mechtilda) dedicated her to God from her infancie: And surely those whose Childhood, with Hildegardis, hath had the advantage of pious education, may be said to have been good time out of mind,

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as not able to remember the beginning of their own good-At eight years of age she became a Nunne under S. Jutta fifter to Megenhard, Earl of Spanheim, and afterwards she was made Abbesse of S. Ruperts Nunnery in

Bingen on Rhene in the Palatinate.

Men commonly do beat and bruise their links before they light them, to make them burn the brighter: God first humbles and afflicts whom he intends to illuminate with more then ordinary grace. Poor Hildegardis was constantly and continually fick, and so * weak that she very seldome was strong enough to go. But God who denied her leggs, ac fere continui gave her wings, and raised her high-mounted soul in Visions languorum doand Revelations.

I know a generall scandall is cast on revelations in this ignorant age; first, because many therein intitled the Meteours of their own brain to be Starrs at least, and afterwards their Revelations have been revealed to beforgeries: secondly, because that night-raven did change his black feathers into the filver wings of a dove, and transforming himself into an Angel of light deluded many with strange raptures and visions, though in their nature farre different from those in the Bible. For S. Paul in his Revelations was caught up into the third heaven; whereas most Monks with a contrary motion were carried into hell and purgatorie, and there saw apparitions of strange torments. Also S. Johns Revelation forbids all additions to the Bible, under heavy penalties; their visions are commonly on purpose to piece out the Scripture, and to establish such superstitions as have no footing in Gods word.

However all held Hildegardis for a Prophet, being induced thereunto by the pietie of her life, (no breck was ever found in her veil, so spotlesse was her conversation) by the sanctity of her writings, and by the generall approbation the Church gave unto her. For Pope Eugenius the third, after exact examination of the matter, did in the Council of Trevers (wherein S.Bernard was prefent)allow and priviledge her Revelations for authenticall. She was of the Popes Conclave, and Em-

* Fuerunt ei ab ipsa pene lores,ita ut pedum incessu perraro uteretur, Theod. Abbas in vita Hildegardis : lib. 1.

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perours Counsel, to whom they had recourse in difficulties: year the greatest torches of the Church lighted themselves at her candle. The Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Bishops of Mentz, Colen, Breme, Trevers sent such knots as posed their own fingers to our Hildegardis to untie.

* Trithemius de Scriptor. Eccles.fel.92. She never learn'd word of Latin, and yet therein would she fluently expresse her Revelation to those notaries that took them from her mouth; so that throwing words at randome she never brake Priscian's head: as if the Latine had learn'd to make it self true without the speakers care. And no doubt, he that brought the single parties to her married them also in her mouth, so that the same Spirit which surnisshed her with Latin words, made also the true Syntaxis. Let none object that her very writing of fistic eight Homilies on the Gospel is salse construction, where the seminine Gender assumes an employment proper to men: for though S. Paul silenceth women for speaking in the Church, I know no Scripture forbids them for writing on Scripture.

Such infused skill she had also of Musick, whereof she was naturally ignorant, and wrote a whole book of verses very good according to those times. Indeed in that agethe trumpet of the warlike Heroick, and the sweet harp of the Lyrick verse, were all turned into the gingling of Cymballs, tinckling with rhythms, and like-sounding cadencies.

But let us hear a few lines of her Prophecies, and thence guesse the rest. In those dayes there shall rise up a people without understanding, proud, covetous, and deceitfull, the which shall eat the sins of the people; holding a certain order of foolish devotion under the seigned cloke of beggery. Also they shall instantly preach without devotion or example of the holy Martyrs, and shall detract from the secular Princes, taking away the Sacraments of the Church from the true passours, receiving almes of the poor, having familiarity with women, instructing them how they shall deceive their busbands, and rob their husbands to give it unto them, * &c. What could be said more plain to draw out to the life those Mendicant Friars (rogues by Gods statutes) which afterwards swarm'd in the World? Hear also how she foretold the low water of Tiber, whilst

* See much more to this purpose in Catalog Testium veritath in Hildegarde: Also in Foxes Acts and monuments, p. 461. as yet it was full tide there. The Kings and other Rulers of the world, being stirred up by the just judgement of God, shall set themselves against them, and run upon them, saying, We will not have thele men to reigne over us with their rich houses, and great possesions, and other worldly riches, over the which we are ordained to be Lords and Rulers, and how is it meet or comely that those shavelings with their stoles and chefils should have more souldiers or richer armour and artillery then we? wherefore let us take away from them what they do not justly but wrongfully possesse.

It is well the Index Expurgatorius was not up in those dayes, nor the Inquisition on foot, otherwise dame Hildegardis must have been call'd to an after account. I will onely ask a Romanist this question, This Prophesie of Hildegardis, was it from heaven or from men? If from heaven, why did ye not believe it? If from men, why did the Pope

allow it, and canonize her?

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As for miracles, which she wrought in her life time, their number is as admirable as their nature. I must confesse at my first reading of them, my belief digested some, but in vivis santi. furfeted on the rest: for she made no more to cast out a devil, then a barber to draw a tooth, and with lefte pain to the patient. I never heard of a great fealt made all of Cordials: and it seems improbable that miracles (which in Scripture are used sparingly, and chiefly for conversion of unbelievers) should be heaped so many together, made every dayes work, and by her commonly, constantly, and ordinarily, wrought. And I pray why is the Popish Church so barren of true works nowadayes here wrought at home amongst us? For as for those reported to be done farre off, it were ill for some if the gold from the Indies would abide the touch no better then the miracles.

However Hildegardis was a gracious Virgin, and God might perform some great wonders by her hand; but these pia fraudes with their painting have spoyled the natural complexion of many a good face, and have made Truth it self suspected. She dyed in the 82 year of her age, was afterwards Sainted by the Pope, and the 17 day of September assign'd to her memory.

* In Lipoman. Tom. 5. fol. 91. & sequen.

* Bruschius De monaster. & Centuriatores, Centur. 11. Col. 350. I cannot forget how Udalrick Abbot of Kempten in Germany made a most *courteous law for the weaker sex, That no woman, guiltie of what crime soever, should ever be put to death in his dominions, because two women condemn'd to die were miraculously delivered out of the prison by praying to S. Hildegardis.

CHAP. 14. The Elder Brother

I Sone who made hast to come into the world to bring his Parents the first news of male-posterity, and is well rewarded for his tidings. His composition is then accounted most precious when made of the losse of a double Virginitie.

He is thankfull for the advantage God gave him at the starting in the race into this World. When twins have been even match'd, one hath gained the Gole but by his length. S. * Augustine saith, That it is every mans bounden duty solemnly to celebrate his birth day. If so, Elder brothers, may best afford good cheer on the sestivall.

He counts not his inheritance a Writ of ease to free him from industry. As if onely the Younger Brothers came into the world to work, the Elder to complement. These are the Tops of their houses indeed, like cotlosts, highest and emptiest. Rather he laboureth to furnish himself with all gentile accomplishment, being best able to go to the cost of learning. He need not fear to be served as Ulrick Fugger was, (chief of the noble family of the Fuggers in Auspurg) who was disinherited of a great patrimony onely for his * studiousnesse, and expensivenesse in buying of costly Manuscripts.

He doth not so remember he is an Heir, that he forgets he is a Sonne. Wherefore his carriage to his Parents is alwayes respectfull. It may chance that his father may be kept in a charitable Prison, whereof his Sonne hath the keyes; the old man being onely Tenant for life, and the lands entaild on our young Gentleman. In such a case when it is in his power, if necessity requires, he enlargeth his father

Maxime 1

* Quastionibus ex utroque mixtim Tom. 40.Col.8,4.

2

* Thuan. de obit.vir.doct, in Ann. 1584.

Chap. 14. The Elder Brother.	41
to fuch a reasonable proportion of liberty as may not be in-	
jurious to himself.	
He rather desires his fathers Life then his Living. This was one	
of the principall reasons (but God knows how true) why	4
Philip the second, King of Spain, caused in the year 1568.	
Charles his Eldest Sonne to be executed for plotting his	
fathers death, as was pretended. And a * Wit in such difficult	* Opmerus
toyes accommodated the numerall letters in Ovids verse to	was the Au-
the year wherein the Prince suffered.	Famianus
FILEVs ante DIeM patrios InqVIrit In annos.	Strada de
1568.	lib. 7. pag.
Before the tiMe. the over-bafty sonne	432.
Seeks forth hold near the fathers Life Is Done.	
1568.	
But if they had no better eivdence against him but this poe-	,
icall Synchronisme, we might well count him a martyr.	
His fathers deeds and grants he ratifies and confirms. It a stitch	5
be fallen in a lease, he will not widen it into an hole by ca-	
villing, till the whole frength of the grant run out thereat;	
or take advantage of the default of the Clark in the writing	
where the deed appears really done, and on a valuable con-	1
sideration: He counts himself bound in honour to perform	
what by marks and signs he plainly understands his father	
neant, though he spake it not out.	
He reflecteth his lustre to grace and credit his younger Brethren.	6
Thus Scipio Africanus, after his great victories against the	1
Carthaginians and conquering of Hannibal, was content to	
serve as a * Lieutenant in the warres of Asia, under Lucius	* Plutar. in
Scipio his younger Brother.	scipio.
He relieveth his distressed kindred, yet so as he continues them in their	7
alling. Otherwise they would all make his house their ho-	-
pitall, his kindred their calling. When one being an Hus-	
bandman challenged kindred of Robert Grofthead Bilhop	
of Lincoln, and thereupon requested favour of him to bestow	1
an office on him, Cousen (quoth the Bishop) If your can	
be broken, I'le mend it; if your plough old, The give you a new one,	
and seed to sow your land: but an Husbandman I found you, and an	
E 3 Husbandman	

hat put n'd by

Husbandman Ile leave you. It is better to ease poor kindred in their Profession, then to ease them from their Profession.

8

He is carefull to support the credit and dignity of his family: neither wasting his paternall estate by his unthristinesse, nor marring it by parcelling his ancient mannours and demelnes amongst his younger children, whom he provides for by annuities, pensions, moneys, leases, and purchased lands. He remembers how when our King Alfred divided the river of Lee (which parts Hartfordshire and Essex) into three streams, it became so shallow that boats could not row, where formerly ships did ride. Thus the ancient family of the Woodfords (which had long continued in Leicestershire and elsewhere in England in great account, estate and livelihood) is at this day quite extinct. For when Sr. Thomas Woodford in the reign of King Henry the fixth made almost an even partition of his means betwixt his five Grandchildren, the House in short space utterly decay'd, not any part of his lands now in the * tenure or name of any of his male line, some whereof lived to be brought to a low ebbe of fortune. Yet on the other side to leave all to the eldet, and make no provision for the rest of their children, is against all rules of religion, forgetting their Christian-name to remember their Sir-name.

* Burson in his descrip. of Leisestershire, p. 264.

CHAP. 15. The Younger Brother.

Some account him the better Gentleman of the two, because son to the more ancient Gentleman. Wherein his Elder Brother can give him the hearing, and a smile into the Bargain. He shares equally with his Elder Brother in the education, but differs from him in his portion, and though he giveth also his Fathers Armes, yet to use the Herauld's language, he may say,

This to my Elder Brother I must yield, I have the Charge but he hath all the Field.

Like herein to a young nephew of Tarquines in Rome,

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nor difinable to acquisitive Gentry; and they are much mistaken who hold it to be in the nature of bondage. For first, his indenture is a civill contract, whereof a bondman is uncapable: secondly, no work can be base prescribed in reserence to a noble end, as theirs is that learn an honest mysterie to inable them for the service of God and the Countrey: thirdly, they give round summes of money to be bound. Now if apprentiship be a servitude, it is either a pleasing bondage, or strange madnesse to purchase it at so dear a rate. Gentry therefore may be suspended perchance, and assept during the apprentiship, but it awakens afterwards.

Sometimes he raiseth his estate by applying himself to the Court, A pasture wherein Elder Brothers are observed to grow lean, and Younger Brothers sat. The reasons whereof may

be thefe.

Younger Brothers, being but slender in estate, are cashe bowed to a Court-complyance then Elder Brothers, who stand more stiff on their means, and think scom to crave what may be a Princes pleasure to grant, and their profit to receive.

They make the Court their calling, and study the mysterie thereof, whilest Elder Brothers, divided betwin the Court and the Countrey, can have their endeavous deep in neither, which run in a double channell.

3 Elder Brothers spend highly in proportion to their estates, expecting afterwards a return with increase, which notwithstanding never payes the principall: and whilest they thus build so stately a stair-case to their preferment, the Younger Brothers get up by the back stairs in a Private silent way, little expence being expected from them that have little.

Sometimes he lighteth on a wealthy match to advance him. If meeting with one that is Pilot of her own affections, to steet them without guidance of her friends, and such as distaineth her marriage should be contracted in an exchange, where joynture must weigh every grain even to the Portion. Rather she counts it an act both of love and charity to affect

embracing different courses to trie their fortunes abroad in the world, chance often to die farre off, at great distance,

which were all born in the same place.

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SECOND THE воок.

CHAP. I.

The good * Advocate.

Wetakeit promiscuously for Civil or Lawyer.



E is one that will not plead that caule wherein his tongue must be confuted by his conscience. It is the praise of the Spanish fouldier, that (whilft all other Nations an mercenary, and for money will ferven any fide) he will never fight against his

own King: nor will our advocate against the Sovereign

Truth, plainly appearing to his conscience.

Maxime. 1

2

He not onely hears but examines his Client, and pincheth the cant. where he fears it is foundred. For many Clients in telling their case rather plead then relate it, so that the Advocate hears no the true state of it, till opened by the adverse partie. Surdy the Lawyer that fills himself with instructions, will travel longest in the cause without tiring. Others that are so quick in fearching, seldome search to the quick; and those minculous apprehentions who understand more then all, before the Client hath told half, runne without their errand, and will return without their answer,

If the matter be doubtfull, he will onely warrant his own diligence. Yet some keep an Assurance-office in their chamber, and will warrant any cause brought unto them, as knowing that if

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Chap. 1. The good Advocate.	47
they fail they lose nothing but what long since was lost,	
their credit.	
He makes not a Trojan siege of a suit, but seeks to bring it to a	3
fet battel in a speedy triall. Yet sometimes suits are continued	
by their difficulty, the potency and stomach of the parties, without any default in the Lawyer. Thus have there depen-	
ded suits in * Glocester-shire, betwixt the Heirs of the Lord	* C
n they and St. Thomas Talbor Viccount Life aver fines	* Cambdens Brit, in Glocest
Barkley, and Sr. Thomas Talbot Viscount Lisle, ever since the reign of King Edward the fourth, untill now lately they	
the reign of King Edward the fourth, whith now fately they	
were finally compounded.	
He is faithfull to that side that first retains him. Not like *Demosthenes, who secretly wrote one oration for Phor-	
	* Plutarch.
mio, and another in the same matter for Apollidorus his ad-	Demosth.
versary.	-
In pleading he shoots fairly at the head of the cause, and having	5
fastened, no frowns nor favours shall make him let go his hold. Not	
finatching afide here and there, to no purpose, speaking	
little in much, as it was faid of Anaximenes, That he	
bad a flood of words, and a drop of reason. His boldnesse riseth or falleth as he apprehends the goodnesse or badnesse of	
his cause.	
	6
He joyes not to be retained in such a suit, where all the right in que- slion, is but a drop blown up with malice to be a bubble. Wherefore	
in such trivial matters he perswades his Client to sound a re-	/ 18
treat, and make a composition.	1
When his name is up, his industry is not down, thinking to plead not	7
by his study but his credit. Commonly Physicians like beer are	
best when they are old, and Lawyers like bread when they	
are young and new. But our Advocate grows not lazie. And	
if a leading case be out of the road of his practise, he will	•
take pains to trace it through his books, and prick the foot-	
fteps thereof wheresoever he finds it.	
	8
He is more carefull to deferve, then greedy to take fees. He ac-	
counts the very pleading of a poor widows honest cause suf- ficient sees, as conceiving himself then the King of Heavens	
Advocate, bound ex officio to prosecute it. And although	
Some may say that such a Lawyer may even go live in	
Cornwall,	
Conwan,	

is of the sea is a

* Carew Sur. of Cornwall, fol. 60.

* Cooke in his Preface to Littletons Tenures. Cornwall, where it is * observed that few of that profession hitherto have grown to any livelyhood, yet shall (besides those two felicities of * common Lawyers, they seldome die either without heirs or making a will find Gods blessing on his provisions and posterity.

We will respit him a while till he comes to be a Jud and then we will give an example of both together.

C H A P 2.

The good Physician.

Maxime I

2

He trusteth not the single witnesse of the water if be testimony may be had. For reasons drawn from urine alone are as brittle as the urinall. Sometimes the uter runneth in such post-hast through the sick mans be it can give no account of any thing memorable in the page, though the most judicious eye examine it. Year sick man may be in the state of death, and yet life appein his stale.

Coming to his patient he persuades him to put his trust in God fountain of health. The neglect hereof hath caused the huccesse of the best Physicians: for God will manifest the though skill come mediately from him to be gotten mans pains, successe comes from him immediately to disposed at his pleasure.

He handfels not his new experiments on the bodies of his tients; letting loose mad receipts into the sick mans bod to try how well Nature in him will fight against the whilest himself stands by and sees the battel: excit be in desperate cases, when death must be expelled death.

To poor people he prescribes cheap but wholsome medicines: no removing the consumption out of their bodies into the purses; nor sending them to the East Indies for drugs, when they can reach better out of their gardens.

4

he was apprehended, and executed in the Tower of London, Anno 1426. and such the world daily swarms with. Well did the Poets feigne Asculapius and Circe, brother and fifter, and both children of the Sunne: for in all times in the opinion of the multitude, witches, old women, and impostours have had a competition with Physicians. And commonly the most ignorant are the most confident in their undertakings, and will not stick to tell you what difease the gall of a dove is good to cure, He took himself to be no mean Doctour, who being guilty of no Greek, and being demanded why it was called an Hettick fever; because (Saith he) of an hecking cough which ever attendeth that disease. And here it will not be amisse to describe the life of the famous Quacksalver Paracelsus, both because it is not ordinarily to be met with, and that men may see what a monster many make a miracle of learning, and propound him their pattern in their practice.



CHAP. 3

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CHAP. 3. The life of Paracelsus.

Philip Theophrastus Bombastus of Hoenhaim, or Paracelsus, born as he saith himself in the wildernesse of Helvetia, Anno 1493. of the noble and ancient family of the Hoenhaims, But Thomas Erastus making strict enquiry after his pedigree found none of his name or kindred in that place. Yet it is sit so great a Chymist should make himself to be of noble extraction: and let us believe him to be of high descent, as perchance born on some mountain in Switzerland.

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* In prafatione Chirurgia magna.

* Sennertus de Chymicorum confensu, cap. 4. pag. 35.

* Bickerss in Hermete redivivo

As for his Education, he himself * boasts that he lived in most Universities of Europe; surely rather as a traveller then a student, and a vagrant then a traveller, Yea some will not allow him so much, and * one who hath exactly measured the length of his life, though crowding his pretended travells very close, finds not room enough for them. But 'tis too ridiculous what a * Schollar of his relates, that he lived ten years in Arabia to get learning, and conversed in Greece with the Athenian Philosophers. Whereas in that age Arabiathe Happy was accurred with Barbarilme, and Athens grown a stranger to her self; both which places being then subjected to the Turks, the very ruines of all learning were ruin'd there. Thus we see how he better knew to act his part then to lay his Scene, and had not Chronology enough to tell the clock of time, when and where to place his lies to make them like truth.

The first five and twenty years of his age he lived very civilly; being thirty years old he came to Basil, just at the alteration of Religion, when many Papists were expell'd the University, &places rather wanted Professours, then Professours places. Here by the favour of Oecolampadius he was admitted to read Physick, and for two years behaved himself fairly, till this accident caused his departure. A rich * Canon of Bafill being fick promised Paracelsus an hundred florens to recover him, which being restored to his health he denied to pay. Paracelsus sues him, is cast in his suit, the Magistrate adjudging him only an ordinary fee, because the cure was done presently with a few pills. The Physician enrag'd hereat talked treason against the State in all his discourses, till the nimblenesse of his tongue forc'd the nimblenesse of his feet, and he was fain to fly into Alsatia. Here keeping company with the Gentry of the countrey, he gave himself over to all licentiousnesse: His body was the sea, wherein the tide of drunkennesse was ever ebbing and slowing; for by putting his finger in his throat he used to spew out his drink and drunkennesse together, and from that instant date himself Sober to return to his cups again. Every moneth he had a new

* Bezoldus
confideratione
vita & mort.
p.76.ex Andras focifio.

new fute, not for pride but necessity; his apparel serving both for wearing and bedding: and having given his cloths many vomits, he gave them to the poor. Being Codrus over night, he would be Crasus in the morning, flush of mony as if he carried the invisible Indies in his pocket: some suspected the Devil was his purse bearer, and that he carried a spirit in the pomel of his sword his constant companion. whilest others maintain that by the heat of the Furnace he could ripen any metall into gold.

All the diet he prescribed his patients was this to eat what, and how often, they thought fitting themselves, and yet he did most strange cures. Like the quick-silver (he so much dealt with) he would never be fixt in one place, or live any where longer then a twelve month: for some observe that by that time the maladies reverted again, which he formerly cured. He gave so strong physick as summoned Nature with all her force to expell the present disease, but the remnant dregs thereof afterwards reinforcing themselves did affault Nature tired out with the violence of her former task, and easily subdued it.

His Scholars brag that the fragments of his learning would feast all the Philosophers in the World, boasting that the Gour, the difgrace of Phisick, was the honour of Paracellus, who by curing it removed that scandall from his profession: whereas others say he had little Learning, and lesse Latine. When any asked him the name of an hearb he knew . Beroldm ut not, he would tell them there was no " use thereof in Phi- prius, pag. 77. fick, and yet this man would undertake not only to cure men but to cure the art of curing men, and reform Philick it self.

As for religion, it would as well pose himself as others to tell what it was. He boasted that shortly he would order Luther and the Pope, as well as he had done Galen and Hipocrates. He was never seen to pray, and seldome came to Church. He was not only skilled in naturall Magick (the utmost bounds whereof border on the suburbs of hell) but is charged to converse constantly with familiars. Guilty he | * Operium in was of all vices but wantonness; and I find an * honest man Epit. de Para-

his Compurgatour, that he was not given to women; perchance he drank himself into wantonness & past it, quenching the fire of his lust by piling suel too hard & fast upon it.

Boasting that he could make a man immortall, he himself died at fourty seven years in the City of Salezburg, His Scho. lars say he was poyloned through the envy (that dark shadow ever waiting on a shining merit) and malice of his advertaries. However his body should have been so fenced with antidotes, that the battery of no poylon might make a breach therein; except we impute it more to his neglect then want of skill, and that rather his own fecurity then his ene. mies malice brought him to his grave. But it may be he was willing to die, counting a twelve moneths time enough to stay in one place and fourty seven years long enough to live in one world. We may more admire that so beastly a drunkard lived so long, then that so skilfull a man died so foon. In a word, He boafted of more then he could do, did more cures feemingly then really, more cures really then lawfully; of more parts then learning, of more fame then parts; a better Physician then a man, a better Chirurgeon then Phylician.

CHAP. 4. The Controversiall Divine.

He is Truths Champion to defend her against all adverfaries, Atheists, Hereticks, Schismaticks, and Erroneous persons whatsoever. His sufficiency appears in Opposing,

Answering, Moderating, and Writing,

He engageth both his judgement and affections in opposing of falsebood. Not like countrey Fencers, who play onely to make sport, but like Duellers indeed, as if for life and limbe, chiefly if the question be of large prospect, and great concernings, he is zealous in the quarrell. Yet some, though their judgement weigh down on one side, the beam of their affections stand so even, they care not which part prevails.

Maxime 1

Chap. 4. The Controversiall Divine.	55
In opposing a truth, he dissembles himself her soe, to be her better friend. Wherefore he counts himself the greatest conquerour when Truth hath taken him captive. With Joseph having	2
sufficiently sisted the matter in a disguise, he discovereth himself, * I am foseph your brother, and then throws away his	* Gen. ec.a.
visard. Dishonest they, who though the debt be satisfied will never give up the bond, but continue wrangling, when the objection is answered.	
He abstains from all foul and railing language. What? make the Mules, yea the Graces scolds? Such purulent spittle argues exulcerated lungs. Why should there be so much railing a.	3
bout the body of Christ? when there was none about the body of Moses in the Act kept betwixt the devil and Michael the Archangel.	
He tyrannizeth not over a weak and undermatch'd Adversary; but seeks rather to cover his weaknesse if he be a modest man. When a Professour pressed an answerer (a better Christian then a Clerk) with an hard argument, Reverende Professor (said he) ingenue consisteor me non posse respondere huic argumento. To whom the Professour, Reste respondes.	4
In answering he states the question, and expoundeth the terms there- of. Otherwise the disputants shall end, where they ought to have begun, in differences about words, and be Barbarians each to other, speaking in a Language neither understand, If the Question also be of Historical cognizance, he shews	5
the pedigree thereof, who first brew'd it, who first broch'd it, and sends the wandring Errour with a pasport home to the place of its birth.	
In taking away an objection he not onely puts by the thrust, but breaks the weapon. Some rather escape then deseat an argument, and though by such an evasion they may shut the mouth of the Opponent, yet may they open the difficulty wider in the hearts of the hearers. But our Answerer either fairly resolves the doubt; or else shews the falsenesse of the argument, by beggering the Opponent to maintain such a	6
fruitfull generation of absurdities, as his argument hath begotten; or lastly returns and retorts it back upon him again. F 4 The	

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The first way unties the knot; the second cuts it asunder. the third whips the Opponent with the knot himself tyed. Sure tis more honour to be a clear Answerer, then a cunning Opposer, because the latter takes advantage of mans ignorance, which is ten times more then his knowledge.

What his answers want in suddennesse they have in solidity. Indeed the speedy answer addes lustre to the disputation, and honour to the disputant; yet he makes good payment, who though he cannot presently throw the money out of his pocket, yet will pay it, if but going home to unlock his cheft, Some that are not for speedy may be for sounder performance. When Melanchthon at the disputation of Ratisbon was pressed by a shrewd argument by Ecchius, I will answer thee, said he, to morrow. Nay, said Ecchius, do it now or it's nothing worth, Yea, said Melanchthon, I seek the Truth. and not mine own Credit, and therefore it will be as good

if I answer thee to * morrow by Gods assistance.

In moderating he sides with the Answerer, if the Answerer sides with the truth. But if he be conceited, and opinioned of his own sufficiency, he lets him swound before he gives him any hot water. If a Paradox-monger, loving to hold strange yea dangerous Opinions, he counts it charity to fuffer sucha one to be beaten without mercy, that he may be weaned from his wilfulnesse. For the main, he is so a staffe to the Answerer, that he makes him stand on his own legs-

In writing, his Latine is pure, so farre as the subject will allow. For those who are to climbe the Alpes are not to expecta smooth and even way. True it is that Schoolmen, perceiving that fallacy had too much covert under the nap of flourishing Language, used thredbare Latine on purpose, and cared not to trespasse on Grammar, and tread down the fences thereof to avoid the circuit of words, and to go the nearest way to expresse their conceits. But our Divine though he useth barbarous School-terms, which like standers are fixt to the controversie, yet in his moveable Latine, passages, and digressions his style is pure and elegant.

He affects clearnesse and plainnesse in all bis writings. Some mens

Melchier. Adam. in vitis Germ. Theolog. P-339.

mens heads are like the world before God said unto it, Fiat lux. These dark-lanterns may shine to themselves, and understand their own conceits, but no body else can have light from them. Thus Matthias Farinator, Profesiour at Vienna, alsisted with some other learned men, as the Times then went, was thirty years making a book of applying Plato's, Aristotle's, and Galen's rules in Philosophy, to Christ and his Prophets, and tis call'd * Lumen anima; quo tamen nibil est caliginofius, labore magno, sed ridiculo, & inani. But this obscurity is worst when affected, when they do as Persius, of whom * one faith, Legi voluit que scripsit, intelligi noluit que legerentur. Some affect this darknesse, that they may be ac- 6.6.6. counted profound, whereas one is not bound to believe that all the water is deep that is muddy.

He is not curious in searching matters of no moment. Captain Martin * Forbisher setcht from the farthest northern Countries a ships lading of minerall stones (as he thought) which afterwards were cast out to mend the high wayes. Thus are they ferved, and miffe their hopes, who long feeking to extract hidden mysteries out of nice questions, leave them off, as uselesse at last. Antoninus Pius, for his desire to fearch to the least differences, was called Cumini sector, the Carver of eumine seed. One need not be so accurate: for as foon shall one scowr the spots out of the moon, as all ignorance out of man. When Eunomius the Heretick vaunted that he knew God and his divinity, S. * Basil gravels * Epif. 168. him in 21 questions about the body of an ant or pismire: so que est ad Eudark is mans understanding. I wonder therefore at the boldnesse of some, who as if they were Lord Marshalls of the Angels place them in ranks and files. Let us not believe them here, but rather go to heaven to confute them.

He neither multiplies needless, nor compounds necessary Controverses. Sure they light on a labour in vain, who seek to make a bridge of reconciliation over the μέγα χάσμα betwixt Papifts and Protestants; for though we go 99 steps, they (I mean their Church) will not come one to give us a meeting. And as for the offers of Clara's and private men (belides that they

Auftria.

Scalig. de

* Giraldus Camb..in descr. of Wales. feem to be more of the nature of baits then gifts) they may make large profers, without any Commission to treat, and so the Romish Church not bound to pay their promises. In * Merionethshire in Wales there are high Mountains, whose hanging tops come so close together that shepherds on the tops of severall hills may audibly talk together, yet will it be a dayes journey for their bodies to meet, so vast is the hollownesse of the vallies betwixt them. Thus upon sound search shall we find a grand distance and remotenesse betwixt Popish and Protestant tenents to reconcile them, which at the first view may seem near, and tending to an accommodation.

13

He is resolute and stable in fundamentall points of Religion. These are his fixed poles, and axlettee about which he moves, whilest they stand unmoveable. Some sail so long on the Sea of controversies, tossed up and down, to and tro, Pro and Con, that the very ground to them seems to move, and their judgements grow scepticall and unstable in the most settled points of Divinity. When he cometh to Preach, especially if to a plain Auditory, with the Paracelsians he extracts an oyl out of the driest and hardest bodies, and knowing that knotty timber is unsit to build with, he easies people with easie and profitable matter.





CHAP. 5.
The life of Dr. VV HITAKER.

Lancaster of good parentage, especially by his mothers side, allied to two worshipfull families. His reverend unckle, Alexander Nowell, Dean of S. Pauls (the first fruits of the English Confessours in the dayes of Queen Marie, who after her death first return d into England from beyond the Seas) took him young from his parents, sent him first to Pauls School, thence to Trinity Colledge in Cambridge;

in

bridge; where he so profited in his studies, that he gave great

promiles of his future perfection.

I passe by his youthfull exercises, never striving for the garland, but he wonne and wore it away. His prime appearing to the world, was when he stood for the Prosessours place against two Competitours, in age sarre his superiours. But the seven Electours in the Universitie who were to choose the Emperour of the schools, preferring a golden head before silver hairs, conferred the place on Whitaker; and the strict form of their Election hath no room for corruption. He so well acquitted himself in the place that he answered expectation, the strongest opponent in all disputes and lectures, and by degrees taught envy to admire him.

By this time the Papists began to assault him, and the Truth. First Campian, one fitter for a Trumpeter then a Souldier, whose best ability was that he could boast in good Latine, being excellent at the flat hand of Rhetorick (which rather gives pass then blows) but he could not bend his sist to dispute. Whitaker both in writing and disputing did teach him, that it was easier to make then maintain a challenge against our Church; and in like manner he handled both Duraus, and Sanders, who successively undertook the

same cause, solidly confuting their arguments.

But these Teazers, rather to rouze then pinch the Game, onely made Whitaker find his spirits. The fiercest dog is behind even Bellarmine himself, a great scholar, and who wanted nothing but a good cause to defend, and generally writing ingeniously, using sometimes slenting, seldome down-right railing. Whitaker gave him all fair quarter, stating the question betwixt them, yielding all which the other in reason could ask, and agreeing on terms to fall out with him, plaid fairly but siercely on him, till the other forsook the field.

Bellarmine had no mind to reinforce his routed arguments, but rather configned over that service to a new Generall, Stapleton an English man: He was born the same * year and moneth wherein S. Thomas More was beheaded

* Pitzem, De illuft, Angl. fcrip. eÆ tat. 16. pag. 796, beheaded, an observation little lesse then mysticall with the Papifts, as if God had substituted him to grow up in the room of the other for the support of the Catholick cause. If Whitaker in answering him put more gall then usuall into his ink, Stapleton (whose mouth was as foul as his cause) first infected him with bitternesse: and none will blame a man for arming his hands with hard and rough gloves, who is to meddle with bryers and brambles.

Thus they baited him constantly with fresh dogs: None that ran at him once defired a second course at him; and as * one observes, Cum nullo hoste unquam conflixit, quem non * Divenant. fudit & fugavit.

He filled the Chair with a gracefull presence, so that one needed not to do with him as * Luther did with Melanchthon when he first heard him read, abstract the opinion and fight of his stature and person, lest the meannesse thereof should cause and undervaluing of him: for our Whitakers person carried with it an excellent port. His style was manly for the strength, maidenly for the modesty, and elegant for the phrase thereof; shewing his skill in spinning a fine thred out of course wool, for such is controversiall matter. He had by his second wife, a modest woman, eight children. It being true of him also, what is said of the famous-Lawyer * Andreas Tiraquillus, singulis

annis fingulos libros liberos Reipublica dedit. My Father hath told me, that he often wished that he might lose so much Learning as he had gotten in after-supper studies; on condition he might gain so much strength as he had lost thereby. Indeed his body was strongly built for the natural temper, and well repaired by his temperate diet and recreations; but first he foundred the foundation of this house by immoderate study, and at last the roof was set on hre by a hot disease.

The unhappy controversie was then started, whether justifying with may be lost. And this thorny question would not suffer our Nightingale to sleep. He was sent

in Prafst. De Judice & Norma fidei

* In epift. ad

obit det Vir. anno 1558.

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for up by Arch-bishop Whitgift to the conference at Lambeth, after which returning home, unleasonable riding, late studying, and night-watching brought him to a burning-feaver, to which his body was naturally disposed. as appeared by the maftery of rednesse in his complexion. Thus loft he the health of his body, in maintaining, That the health of the foul could not be loft. All agreed that he should be let bloud; which might then easily have been done, but was deferred by the fault of some about him. till it was too late. Thus, when God intends to cut a mans life off, his dearest friends by dangerous involuntarie mistakes shall bring the knife. He died in the 47. year of his age, Anno Domini, 1595. and in S. Johns Colledge (whereof he was Master) was solemnly interred, with the grief of the University, and whole Church of God.

CHAP. 6.

The true Church Antiquary.

E is a traveller into former times, whence he hath learnt their language and fashions. If he meets with an old manuscript, which hath the mark worn out of its mouth, and hath loft the date, yet he can tell the age thereof

either by the phrase or character.

Maxime 1

He baits at middle Antiquity, but lodges not till he comes at that which is ancient indeed. Some scoure off the rust of old inscriptions into their own souls, cankering themselves with Superstition, having read so often Orate pro anima, that at last they fall a praying for the departed; and they more lament the ruine of Monasteries, then the decay and ruine of Monks lives, degenerating from their ancient piery and painfulnetse. Indeed a little skill in Antiquity inclines a man to Popery; but depth in that study brings him about again to our religion. A Nobleman who had heard of the extreme treme age of one dwelling not farre off, made a journey to visit him, and finding an aged person sitting in the chimney-corner, addressed himself unto him with admiration of his age, till his mistake was rectified: for, Oh Sir, (said the young-old man) I am not he whom you seek for, but his sonne; my father is farther off in the sield. The same errour is daily committed by the Romish Church, adoring the reverend brow and gray hairs of some ancient Ceremonyes, perchance but of some seven or eight hundred years standing in the Church, and mistake these for their fathers, of sarre greater age in the Primitive times.

He defires to imitate the ancient Fathers, as well in their Piety, as in their Postures. not onely conforming his hands and knees. but chiefly his heart to their pattern. O the holinesse of their living and painfulnesse of their preaching! how full were they of mortisted thoughts. and heavenly meditations! Let us not make the ceremoniall part of their lives onely Canonicali, and the morall part thereof alltogether Apocrypha, imitating their devotion not in the finenesse of the stuff, but onely in the fashion of the making.

He carefully marks the declination of the Church from the Primitive purity. Observing how sometimes humble devotion was contented to lie down, whilest proud superstition got on her back. Yea not onely Frederick the Emperour, but many a godly Father some hundreds of years before held the Pope's stirrop, and by their well-meaning simplicity gave occasion to his suture greatnesse. He takes notice how their Rhetoricall hyperboles were afterwards accounted the just measure of Dogmaticall truths; How plain people took them at their word in their sunerall apostrophes to the dead; How praying for the departed brought the suell, under which after-ages kindled the fire of Purgatory; How one Ceremony begat another there beeing no bounds in will-worship, wherewith one may sooner be wearied then satisfied; the

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inventours of new Ceremonyes endeavouring to supply in number, what their conceits want in solidity; How mens souls being in the full speed and career of the Historicall use of Pictures could not stop short, but must lash out into superstitions. How the fathers vailing their bon. nets to Rome in civill courtefie, when making honourable mention thereof, are interpreted by modern Papifts to have done it in adoration of the idole of the Popes infallibility. All these things he ponders in his heart, obferving both the times and places, when and where they happened.

He is not zealous for the introducing of old uselesse Ceremonies. The mischief is, some that are most violent to bring fuch in, are most negligent to preach the cautions in using them; and simple people, like Children in eating of fish, swallow bones and all to their danger of choking. Besides, what is observed of horse-hairs, that lying nine dayes in water they turn to fnakes; so some Ceremonies though dead at first, in continuance of time quicken, ger stings, and may do much mischief, especially if in such an age wherein the medlings of some have justly awaked the jealousie of all. When many Popish tricks are abroad in the countrey; if then men meet with a Ceremonie which is a stranger, especially if it can give but a bad account of it self, no wonder if the watch take it up for one on suspicion.

He is not peremptory but conjecturall in doubtfull matters: Not forcing others to his own opinion, but leaving them to their own liberty; not filling up all with his own conjectures to leave no room for other men : nor tramples he on their credits, if in them he finds slips and mistakes. For here our fouls have but one eye; (the Apostle saith me know but in part) be not proud if that chance to come athwart thy seeing side, which meets with the blind side

He thankfully acknowledgeth those by whom he hath profited. Bale natured they, who when they have quenched their own thirlt,

whereof we passe from one to another, in the learned languages generally spoken in no countrey. His mother tongue was like the dull musick of a monochord, which by study he turns into the harmonie of severall instruments.

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He first gaineth skill in the Latine and Greeke tongues. On the credit of the former alone, he may trade in discourse over all Christendome: But the Greek, though not so ge. nerally spoken, is known with no lesse profit, and more pleasure. The joynts of her compounded words are so naturally oyled, that they run nimbly on the tongue; which makes them though long never tedious, because significant. Besides, it is sull and stately in sound: onely it pities our Artist to see the vowels therein rackt in pronouncing them, hanging oftentimes one way by their native force, and haled another by their accents which countermand them.

3

Hence he proceeds to the Hebrew, the mother-tongue of the world. More pains then quicknesse of wit is required to get it, and with daily exercise he continues it. Apostacy herein is usuall to fall totally from the language by a little neglect. As for the Arabick, and other Orientall languages, he rather makes sallies and incursions into them, then any solemn sitting before them.

4

Then he applies his studie to Logick, and Ethicks. The latter rnakes a mans soul mannerly and wise; but as for Logick, that is the armorie of reason, surnisht with all offensive and desensive weapons. There are Syllogismes, long swords; Enthymems, short daggers; Dilemma's, two-edged swords that cut on both sides; Sorites, chain-shot: And for the desensive, Distinctions, which are shields; Retortions, which are targets with a pike in the midst of them, both to desend and oppose. From hence he raiseth his studies to the knowledge of Physicks, the great hall of Nature, and Metaphysicks the closet thereof; and is carefull not to wade therein

Chap. 7. The generall Artist.	67
therein so farre, till by subtill distinguishing of notions he confounds himself. He is skilfull in Rhetorick, which gives a speech colour, as Logick doth favour, and both together beauty. Though some condemne Rhetorick as the mother of lies, speaking more then the truth in Hyperboles, lesse in her Miosis, otherwise in her Metaphors, contrary in her Ironies; yet is there excellent use of all these, when disposed of with judgement. Nor is he a stanger to Poetry, which is musick in words; nor to Musick, which is poetry in sound: both excellent sauce, but they have lived and died poor, that made them their meat.	5
Mathematicks he moderately studieth to his great contentment. Using it as ballast for his soul, yet to fix it not to stall it; nor suffers he it to be so unmannerly as to justle out other Arts. As for judicial Astrology (which hath the least jugdement in it) this vagrant hath been whipt out of all learned corporations. If our Artist lodgeth her in the out-rooms of his soul for a night or two, it is rather to hear then believe her relations.	6
Hence he makes his progresse into the study of History. Nestor, who lived three ages, was accounted the wisest man in the world. But the Historian may make himself wise, by living as many ages as have past since the beginning of the world. His books enable him to maintain discourse, who besides the stock of his own experience may spend on the common purse of his reading. This directs him in his life, so hat he makes the shipwrack of others sea-marks to himself; yea accidents which others start from for their strangements, he welcomes at his wonted acquaintance, having ound presidents for them formerly. Without History a mans soul be purblind, seeing onely the things which almost	7
ouch his eyes, He is well seen in Chronology, without which History is but	8
n heap of tales. If by the Laws of the land he is counted a Naturall, who hath not wit enough to tell twenty, or to tell	Fits Herbert nst. brev de tota inqui- n.

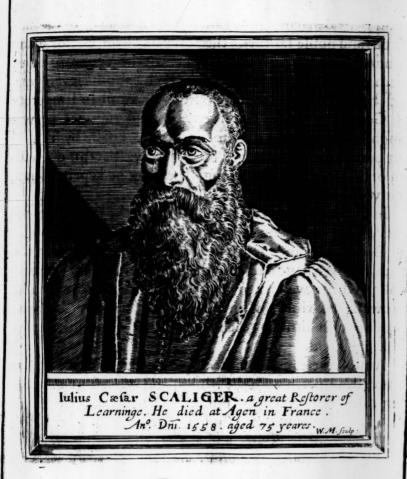
who cannot tell the age of the world, and count hundreds of years: I mean not so critically, as to solve all doubts arising thence; but that he may be able to give some tole rable account thereof. He is also acquainted with Cosmography, treating of the world in whole joynts; with Chorography, shredding it into countries; and with Topography, mincing it into particular places.

Thus taking these Sciences in their general latitude, he hath finished the round circle or golden ring of the arts, onely he keeps a place for the diamond to be set in, I mean for that predominant profession of Law, Physick, Divinitie, or State-policie, which he intends for his principal Calling

hereafter.



CHAP. 13.



CHAP. 8.

The life of Julius Scaliger.

I Know my choice herein is liable to much exception. Some will make me the pattern of ignorance, for making this Scaliger the pattern of the general! Artist, whose own some Joseph might have been his father in many arts. But all things considered, the choice will appear well advised, even in such variety of examples. Yet let him know that undertakes to pick out the best ear amongst an acre of wheat, that he shall leave as good if not a better behind him, then that which he chooseth.

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He was born Anno 1484. in Italie, at the Castle of Ripa upon lacus Benacus, now called Lago di Garda, of the illustrious and noble family of the Scaligers, Princes, for many hundreds of years, of Verona, till at last the Venetians outed them of their ancient inheritance. Being about eleven years old, he was brought to the Court of Maximilian Emperour of Germany, where for seventeen years together he was taught learning, and military discipline. I passe by his valiant performances atchieved by him, save that this one action of his is so great and strong, it cannot be kept in silence, but will be recorded.

In the cruel battel at Ravenna betwixt the Emperour and the French, he not onely bravely fetch'd off the dead bodies of Benedictus and Titus his father and brother, but also with his own hands rescued the Eagle (the standard Imperiall) which was taken by the enemies. For which his prowesse Maximilian knighted him, and with his own hands put on him the golden spurres, and chain, the badges

of knigt-hood.

Amidst these his Martiall employments he made many a clandestine match with the Muses, and whilest he expected the tides and returns of businesse, he fill'd up the empty places of leisure with his studies. Well did the Poets seigne Pallas Patronesse of arts and armes, there being ever good intelligence betwixt the two Professions, and as it were but a narrow cut to serry over out of one into the other. At last Scaliger sounded a retreat to himself from the warres, and wholly applyed himself to his book, especially after his wandring life was fixed by marriage unto the beautifull Andietta Lobeiaca, with whom he lived at Agin, near Montpeliar in France.

His Latine was twice refined, and most criticall, as appears by his own writings, and notes on other Authours. He was an accurate Grecian, yet began to study it, when well nigh fourty years old, when a mans tougue is too stiff to bow to words. What a torture was it to him who slowed with streams of matter then to learn words, yea letters,

drop

drop by drop? But nothing was unconquerable to his pains, who had a golden wit in an iron body. Let his book of Subrilties witnesse his profound skill in Logick, and Naturall Philosophy.

His skill in Phylick was as great, as his practice therein was happy; in so much that he did many strange and admirable cures. Hear how a noble and learned pen doth

commend him:

Chap. 8.

Non hunc fefellit ulla vis recondita Salubris herbe, saltibus si quam aviis Celat nivosus Caucasus, seu quam procul Riphæa duro contegit rupes gelu. Hic namá spectantes ad orcum non semel Animas repressit victor, & membris suis Harere succis compulit felicibus, Nigria avaras Ditis elusit manus.

On Inowy Caucasus there grew no root Or fecret power, but he was privy to't; On Cold Riphean hils no simple grew. But he the force thereof and virtue knew. Wherewith (apply'd by his successefull art) Such fullen fouls as would this world depart, He forc't still in their bodies to remain. And from deaths dore fetch'd others back again.

As for his skill in Physiognomy, it was wonderfull. I know some will say, that cannot be read in mens faces which was never wrote there, and that he that feeks to find the disposition of mens souls in the figures of their bodies, looks for letters on the backfide of the book. Yet is it credibly * averred that he never looked on his infant-sonne * In vita Ful. Audectus but with grief, as forrow-struck with some sad figne of ill successe he saw in his face: which child at last was found stifled in bed with the embraces of his nurce being fast asleep.

Bostins Regins Senator Bur digale ad Vi dum Braffacum Prafidem.

Scalig. p. 44.

In Mathematicks he was no Archimedes, though he shewed his skill therein with the best advantage, and stood therein on his tiptoes, that his learning might teem the taller.

But in Poetry his over-measure of skill might make up this desect, as it is attested by his book de de Arte Poetica. Yet his own Poems are harsh, and unsmooth, (as if he rather snorted then slept on Parnassus) and they sound better to the brain then eare. Indeed his censure in Poetry was incomparable; but he was more happy in repairing of Poems then in building them from the ground, which speaks his judgement to be better then his invention.

What shall I speak of his skill in History? whose own actions were a sufficient History. He was excellently vers'd in the passages of the world, both modern and ancient. Many modern languages, which departed from Babel in a confusion, met in his mouth in a method, being skilfullin the Sclavonick tongue, the Hungarian, Dutch, Italian,

Spanish, and French.

But these his excellent parts were attended with prodigious pride; and he had much of the humour of the Ottomans in him, to kill all his brethren, and cry down all his equalls, which were corrivalls with him in the honour or arts, which was his principall quarrell with Cardan. Great was his spight at Erasmus, the morning-starre of learning, and one by whom Julius himself had profited, though afterwards he fought to put out that candle whereat he had ligh. ted his own. In the bickering betwixt them, Eralmus pluckt Scaliger by the long locks of his immoderate boafting, and touched him to the quick (a proud man lies pat for a jeering mans hand to hit) Yea Erasmus was a badger in his jeeres, where he did bite he would make his teeth meet. Nor came Scaliger behinde him in railing. However afterward Scaliger repented of his bitternesse, and before his death was * reconciled unto him.

* Thuen. obit. Illustr, Anno 1552.

Thus his learning, being in the circuit of arts, spread so wide, no wonder if it lay thinne in some places. His parts were nimble, that starting so late he overtook, yea overran

his equalls: so that we may safely conclude that making abatement for his military avocations, and late applying himself to study, scarce any one is to be preferred before him for generality of humane learning. He died Anno 1558. in the 75. year of his age.

Снав. 9. The faithfull Minister.

TE suppose him not brought up by hand onely in his own countrey studies, but that he hath suckt of his Mother University, and throughly learnt the arts: Not as S. * Rumball, who is faid to have spoken as soon as he * camba Brit. was born, doth he preach as soon as he is Matriculated. in Northamp. Conceive him now a Graduate in arts, and entred into orders, according to the solemn form of the Church of England, and presented by some Patrone to a pastorall charge, or place equivalent, and then let us fee how well he dischar.

geth his office.

Chap. 9.

He endeavours to get the generall love and good will of his parish. Maxime I This he doth not so much to make a benefit of them, as a benefit for them, that his ministry may be more effectuall; otherwise he may preach his own heart out, before he preacheth any thing unto theirs. The good conceit of the Physician is half a cure, and his practice will scarce be happy where his person is hated; yet he humours them not in his Doctrine to get their love: for such a spaniell is worse then a dumbe dog. He shall sooner get their good will by walking uprightly, then by crouching and creeping. If pious living and painfull labouring in his calling will not win their affections, he counts it gains to lose them. As for those which causelessely hate him, he pities and prayes for them: and such there will be . I should suspect his preaching had no falt in it, if no gald horse did winse,

He is strict in ordering his conversation. As for those who clense blurres with blotted fingers, they make it the worse.

It was faid of one who preach'd very well, and liv'd very ill. That when he was out of the Pulpit, it was pity he should ever go into it, and when he was in the Pulpit, it was pity he should ever come out of it: But our Minister lives Sermons. And yet I deny not but dissolute men, like unskilfull horsemen which op n a gate on the wrong side, may by the virtue of their office

open heaven for others, and shut themselves out.

* Fox, Acts and Mon. in bu life.

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His behaviour towards his people is grave and courteous. Not too austere and retired; which is laid to the charge of good M' * Hooper the martyr, that his rigidnesse frighted people from consulting with him. Let your light (faith Christ) shine before men; whereas over refervednette makes the brightelt virtue burn dimme. Especially he detesteth affected gravity (which is rather on men then in them) whereby some belie their register-book, ante-date their age to seem farre older then they are, and plait and let their brows in an affected sadnesse. Whereas S. * Anthony the Monk might have been known among hundreds of his order by his cheerfull face, he having ever (though a most mortified man) a merry countenance.

* Athanafius in ejus vita.

He doth not clash Gods ordinances together about precedency. Not making odious comparisons betwixt Prayer and Preaching, Preaching and Catechifing, Publick prayer and Private, Premeditate prayer and Ex tempore. When at the taking of new Carthage in Spain two Souldiers contended about the Mural crown (due to him who first climbed the walls,) so that the whole army was thereupon in danger of division, * Scipio the Generall said, he knew that they both got up the wall together, and so gave the Scaling crown to them both. Thus our Minister compounds all controversies betwixt Gods ordinances, by praising them all, practifing them all, and thanking God for them all. He counts the reading of Common-prayers to prepare him the better for preaching; and as one faid, if he did first toll the bell on one side, it made it afterwards ring out the better in his Sermons.

Plutarch in Scipio's life, Pag. 1807.

> He carefully Catechifeth his people in the elements of religion. Exce pt

Except he hath (a rare thing) a flock without lambs, of all old sheep; and yet even Luther did not forn to professe himself Discipulum Catechismi, a scholar of the Catechisme. By this Catechising the Gospel first got ground of Popery: and let not our Religion now grown rich be assumed of that which first gave it credit and set it up, less the Jesuites beat us at our own weapon. Through the want of this Catechising many which are well skilled in some darke outcorners of Divinity have lost themselves in the beaten road thereof.

He will not offer to God of that which costs him nothing; but takes pains aforehand for his Sermons. * Demosthenes never made any oration on the sudden; yea being called upon he never rose up to speak, except he had well studied the matter: and he was wont to say, That he shewed how he honoured and reverenced the people of Athens, because he was carefull what he spake unto them. Indeed if our Minister be surprised with a studen occasion, he counts himself rather to be excused then commended, if premeditating onely the bones of his Sermon he clothes it with slesh ex tempore. As for those whose long custome hath made preaching their nature, that they can discourse Sermons without study, he accounts their examples rather to be admired then imitated.

Having brought his Sermon into his head, he labours to bring it into his heart, before he preaches it to his people. Surely that preaching which comes from the foul most works on the foul. Some have questioned ventriloquie, when men strangely speak out of their bellies, whether it can be done lawfully or no: might I coin the word cordiloquie, when men draw the doctrines out of their hearts, sure all would count this lawfull and commendable.

He chiefly reproves the raigning fins of the time, and place be lives in. We may observe that our Saviour never inveighed against Idolatry, Usury, Sabbath-breaking amongst the Jewes; not that these were not sins, but they were not practised so much in that age, wherein wickednesse was ipun with a finer thred: and therefore Christ principally bent the drift of his

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preaching against spiritual Pride, Hypocrisie, and Traditions then predominant amongst the people. Also our Minister consuteth no old Heresies which time hath consuted; nor troubles his Auditory with such strange, hideous cases of Conscience, that it is more hard to find the case then the resolution. In publick reproving of sin, he ever whips the vice and spares the person.

He doth not onely move the bread of life, and tosse it up and down in generalities, but also breaks it into particular directions: drawing it down to cales of Conscience, that a man may be warranted in his particular actions, whether they be lawfull or not. And he teacheth people their lawfull liberty as well as their restraints and prohibitions; for amongst men it is as ill taken

to turn back favours, as to disobey commands.

The places of Scripture be quotes are pregnant and pertinent. As for heaping up of many quotations, it smacks of a vain oftentation of memory. Besides, it is as impossible that the hearer should profitably retain them all, as that the preacher hath seriously perused them all, yea, whilest the auditous stop their attention, and stoop down to gather an imperiment quotation, the Sermon runs on, and they lose more substantiall matter.

His similes and illustrations are alwaies familiar, never contemptible. Indeed reasons are the pillars of the fabrick of a Sermon, but similitudes are the windows which give the best lights. He avoids such stories whose mention may suggest bad thoughts to the auditours, and will not use a light comparison to make thereof a grave application, for sear less his poyson go farther then his antidote.

He provideth not onely wholfome but plentifull food for his people. Almost incredible was the painfulnesse of Baronius, the compiler of the voluminous Annals of the Church, who for thirty years together preached three or foure times aweek to the people. As for our Minister, hee preferreth rather to entertain his people with wholsom cold meat which was on the table before, then with that which is hot from

& sermonibus | was off the table before, then with that which is not from ad populum ter in hebdomada quarerve habendis per trigiata & amplius annos diligentissima assiduitate laboravit.

Spondanus in vita Baronis prg. 2. pars. 7.

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* The words being fomewhat ambiguous are thus, In audiendis confessionibus, & sermonibus 17

dues be detained from him, he grieves more for his parishioners bad conscience then his own damage. He had rather suffer ten times in his profit, then once in his title, where not onely his person, but posterity is wronged: And then he proceeds fairly and speedily to a tryall, that he may not vex and weary others, but right himself. During his suit he neither breaks off nor flacks offices of courtefie to his adverfary yea though he loseth his suit, he will not also lose his charity. Chiefly he is respectfull to his Patrone, that as he presented him freely to his living, so he constantly presents

his Patrone in his prayers to God.

He is moderate in his tenets and opinions. Not that he gilds over lukewarmnesse in matters of moment with the title of discretion, but withall he is carefull not to entitle violence in indifferent and in concerning matters to be zeal. Indeed men of extraordinary tallnesse, (though other wise little deferving) are made porters to lords, and those of unusuall littlenesse are made ladies dwarfs, whilest men of moderate stature may want masters. Thus many notorious for extremities may find favourers to preferr them, whilest moderate men in the middle truth may want any to advance them. But what saith the Apostle, If in this life onely we had

hope we are of all men the most miserable.

He is sociable and willing to do any courteste for his neighbour Ministers. He willingly communicates his knowledge unto them. Surely the gifts and graces of Christians lay in common, till base envy made the first enclosure. He neither flighteth his inferiours; nor repineth at those who in parts and credit are above him. He loveth the company of his neighbour Ministers. Sure as ambergreece is nothing so sweet in it self, as when it is compounded with other things; so both godly and learned men are gainers by communicating themselves to their neighbours.

He is carefull in the discreet ordering of his own family. A good Minister and a good father may well agree together, when a certain Frenchman came to visit * Melanchthon, he found him in his stove with one hand dandling his child in the

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* Pantaleon de Illuftr, Germ. in vita Melanch.

swadling clouts, and in the other hand holding a book and reading it. Our Minister also is as hospitable as his estate will permit, and makes every alms two by his cheerfull giving it. He loveth also to live in a well-repaired house, that he may serve God therein more cheerfully. A Clergieman who built his house from the ground wrote in it this counsell to his successour,

If thou dost find a house built to thy mind

Without thy cost,

Serve thou the more God and the poore;

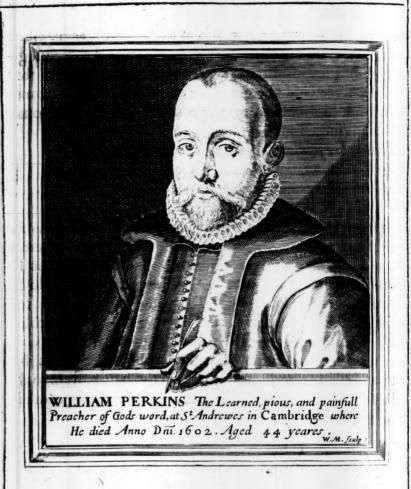
My labour is not lost.

Lying on his deathbed he bequeaths to each of his parishioners his precepts and examples for a legacie: and they in requitall erect every one a monument for him in their hearts. He is so farre from that base jealousie that his memory should be outshined by a brighter successour, and from that wicked desire that his people may find his worth by the worthlest nesse of him that succeeds, that he doth heartily pray to God to provide them a better Pastour after his decease. As for outward estate, he commonly lives in too bare pasture to die fat: It is well if he hath gathered any sless, being more in blessing then bulk.



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CHAP, 10.



CHAP. 10. The life of M' PERKINS.

Warwickshire, was afterwards brought up in Christ-Colledge in Cambridge, where he so well profited in his studies that he got the grounds of all liberall Arts, and in the 24 of Queen Elizabeth was chosen tellow of that Colledge, the same year wherein Doctour Andrew Willet (one of admirable industry) and Doctour Richard Clark (whose learned Sermons commend him to posterity) were elected into the same Society.

There goeth an uncontroll'd tradition, that Perkins, when a young scholar, was a great studier of Magick, occasioned perchance by his skill in the Mathematicks. For ignorant people count all circles above their own sphere to be conjuring, and presently cry out those things are done by black art for which their dimme eyes can see no colour in reason. And in such case, when they cannot slie up to heaven to make it a Miracle, they fetch it from hell to make it Magick, though it may lawfully be done by naturall causes. True it is he was very wild in his youth till God (the best Chymick who can fix quicksilver it selfe) gratiously reclaim'd him.

After his entrance into the Ministry, the first beam he sent forth shined to those which sat in darknosse and the shadow of death, I mean the prisoners in the cattle of Cambridge, people (as generally in such places) living in England out of Christendome, wanting the meanes of their falvation, bound in their bodies, but too loose in their lives, yea often branded in their flesh, and seared in their consciences. Perkins prevailed so farre with their jaylour, that the prisoners were brought (fetter'd) to the Shire-house hard by, where he preached unto them every Lords day. Thus was the prison his parish, his own Charity his Patron presenting him unto it and his work was all his wages. Many an Onesimus here he begat, and as the instrument freed the priso. loners from the captivity of sinne. When this began to be known, some of good quality of the neighbouring parishes became his auditours, and counted it their feast to feed out of the prisoners basket. Hence afterwards he became Preacher of S. Andrews parish in Cambridge, where he continued to the day of his death.

His Sermons were not so plain but that the piously learned did admire them, nor so learned but that the plain did understand them. What was said of Socrates, That he first humbled the towning speculations of Philosophers into practice and morality; so our Perkins brought the schools into the Pulpit, and unshelling their controversies out of

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their hard school-terms, made thereof plain and wholsome meat for his people. For he had a capacious head with angles winding, and roomthy enough to lodge all controversiall intricasies; and, had not preaching diverted him from that way, he had no doubt attained to eminency therein. An excellent Chirurgeon he was at joynting of a broken soul, and at stating of a doubtfull conscience. And sure in Case-divinity Protestants are desective. For (save that a Smith or two of late have built them forges, and set up shop) we go down to our enemies to sharpen all our instruments, and are beholden to them for offensive and defensive weapons in Cases of Conscience.

He would pronounce the word Damne with such an emphasis as left a dolefull Echo in his auditours ears a good while after. And when Catechist of Christ Colledge, in expounding the Commandments, applied them so home, able almost to make his hearers hearts fall down, and hairs to stand upright. But in his older age he altered his voice, and remitted much of his former rigidnesse, often professing that to preach mercie was that proper office of the Ministers

of the Gospel.

Some object that his Doctrine, referring all to an absolute decree, hamftrings all industry, and cuts off the sinews of mens endeavours towards salvation. For ascribing all to the wind of Gods spirit, (which bloweth where it listeth) he leaveth nothing to the oars of mans diligence, either to help or hinder to the attaining of happinesse, but rather opens a wide doore to licentious security. Were this the hardest objection against Perkins his doctrine, his own life was a sufficient answer thereunto, so pious, so spotlesse, that Malice was afraid to bite at his credit, into which she knew her teeth could not enter.

He had a rare felicity in speedy reading of books, and as it were but turning them over would give an exact account of all considerables therein. So that as it were riding post thorow an Authour, he took strict notice of all passages, as if he had dwelt on them particularly; perusing books so

speedily,

s. W. M of s. C. C. speedily, one would think he read nothing; so accurately, one would think he read all.

He was of a cheerfull nature and pleasant disposition: Indeed to mere strangers he was referved and close, suffering them to knock a good while before he would open himself unto them; but on the least acquaintance he was merry and

very familiar.

Besides his assiduity in preaching he wrote many books, extant at this day. And pity it was, that he fet not forth more of them himself; for though some of his Orphan works lighted on good Guardians, yet all were not so happy; and indeed no nurse for a child to the own mother.

He dyed in the 44. year of his age of a violent fit of the stone. It hath been reported that he dyed in the conflict of a troubled conscience; which admit were so, had been no wonder: for God sometimes seemingly leavs his Saints when they leave the world, plunging them on their deathbeds in deep temptations, and casting their souls down to hell, to rebound the higher to heaven. Besides, the devil is most busie on the last day of his Term; and a Tenant to be outed cares not what mischief he doth. But here was no fuch matter. Indeed he alwayes cryed out Mercy Mercy: S. W. 11 prim. which some standers by misinterpreted for despair, as if he felt not Gods fayour, because he call'd for it: whereas Mercy is a Grace which they hold the fastest, that most catch after it. Tis true that many on lesse reason have expressed more confidence of their future happinesse, and have delivered themselves in larger speeches concerning the same, But who could expect a long oration from him, where every word was accented with pain in so sharp a disease.

His funeralls were folemnly and fumptuoufly perform'd at the fole charges of Christ-Colledge, which challenged as the gave him his breeding, to pay for his buriall; the University and Town lovingly contending which should express more forrow thereat, Doctour Mountague, afterwards Bilhop of Winchester, preached his Funerall-Sermon, and excellently discharg'd the place taking for his Text, Moses my servant is dead,

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* Hugh Holand in bis Icones. He was of a ruddy complexion, very fat and corpulent, lame of his right hand; and yet this Ehud with a lefthanded pen did stab the Romish Cause; and *as one saith,

Dextera quantum vis fuerat tibi manca, docendi

Pollebas mira dexteritate tamen.

Though nature thee of thy right hand bereft, Rightwell thou writest with thy hand that's left.

He was born the fift, and dyed the last year of Queen Elizabeth, so that his life streamed in equal length with her reign, and they both had their fountains, and falls together.

I must not forget, how his books after his death were translated into most modern Christian Languages. For though he excellently improved his talent in the English tongue, yet forreiners thought it but wrapt up in a napkin, whilest folded in an unknown language. Wherefore some translated the main body of his works into French, Dutch, and Italian; and his books speak more tongues, then the Maker ever understood. His Reformed Catholick was done into Spanish, and no Spaniard ever since durst take up that gantlet of defiance our Champion cast down: yea their laquisition rather chose to answer it with tortures, then arguments.

CHAP. II.

The good Parishioner.

Civill part hath and shall be met with under other Heads. Conceive him to live under such a faithfull Minister as before was character'd, as, either judging charitably that all P stours are such, or wishing heartily that they were.

Though near to the Church he is not farre from God. Like unto Justus, Act 18.8. One that worshipped God, and his house joyned hard to the Synagogue. Otherwise if his distance from the church be great, his diligence is the greater to come thither in season.

Maxime 1

He is timely at the beginning of Common prayer. Yet as * Tullie
Charged some dissolute people for being such sluggards that
they never law the sunne rising or setting, as being alwayes
up after the one, and abed before the other; so some negli-
gent people never heare prayers begun, or fermon ended :
the Confession being past before they come, and the Blessing
not come before they are passed away.

In sermon he sets himself to heare God in the Minister. Therefore divesteth he himself of all prejudice; the jaundise in the eyes of the soul presenting colours false unto it. He hearkens very attentively: Tis a shame when the Church it self is Cameterium, wherein the living sleep above ground as the

dead do beneath.

At every Point that concerns himself, he turns down a leaf in his heart; and rejoyceth that Gods word hath peirc'd him, as hoping that whilest his soul smarts it heals. And as it is no manners for him that hath good venison before him, to ask whence it came, but rather fairly to fall to it; so hearing an excellent Sermon, he never enquires whence the Preacher had it, or whether it was not before in print, but falls aboard

to practife it.

He accuseth not his Minister of spight for particularizing him. It does not follow that the archer aimed, because the arrow hit. Rather our Parishioner reasoneth thus; If my sinne be notorious, how could the Minister misse it? if secret, how could he hit it without Gods direction? But soolish hearers make even the bells of Aarons garments to clink as they think. And a guilty conscience is like a whirpool, drawing in all to it self which otherwise would passe by. One, causelessely disaffected to his Minister, complained that he in his last Sermon had personally inveighed against him, and accused him thereof to a grave religious Gentleman in the parish: Truly, said the Gentleman, I had thought in his Sermon he had meant me, for it touched my beart. This rebated the edge of the others anger.

His Tithes he payes willingly with cheerfulnesse. How many part with Gods portions grudgingly, or else pinch it in the paying.

* De finibus boni of mali, lib. 2.

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* Fluctus Decimus, pro maximo. Ovidio & Lucano. paying. * Decimum, the Tenth, amongst the Romanes was ever taken for what was best or biggest. It falls out otherwise in paying of Tithes, where the least and leanest are shifted off to make that number.

He hides not himself from any Parish-office which seeks for him. If chosen Churchwarden, he is not busily-idle, rather to trouble then reform, presenting all things but those which he should. If Overseer of the poore, he is carefull the rates be made indifferent (whose inequality oftentimes is more burthensome then the summe) and well disposed of. He measures not peoples wants by their clamorous complaining, and dispenseth more to those that deserve then to them that onely need relief.

He is bountifull in contributing to the repair of Geds house. For though he be not of their opinion, who would have the Churches under the Gospell conform'd to the magnificence of Solomons Temple (whose porch would serve us for a Church) and adorn them so gaudily, that devotion is more distracted then raised, and mens souls rather dazeled, then lightened; yet he conceives it fitting that such sacred places should be handsomly and decently maintained: The rather because the climactericall yeare of many Churches from their first soundation, may seem to happen in our dayes; so old, that their ruine is threatned if not speedily repaired.

He is respectfull to his Ministers widow and posterity for his sake. When the onely daughter of Peter Martyr was, through the riot and prodigality of her debauched husband, brought to extreme poverty, the * State of Zurick, out of gratefull remembrance of her Father, supported her with bountifull maintenance. My prayers shall be, that Ministers widows, and children may never stand in need of such relief, and may never want such relief when they stand in need.

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* Thuan obit. vir. doct. Anno. 1562. ras

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CHAP. 12.

The good Patron.

THat in the Primitive times (though I dare not say generally in all Churches) if not the sole choyce, at least the consent of the people was required in appointing of Ministers, may partly appear out of * Scripture, more plainly out of * Cyprian, and is confessed by reverend * Dr. Whitgift. These popular elections were well discharged in those purer times, when men being scoured with constant persecution had little leafure to rust with factions, and when there were no baits for Corruption; the places of Ministers being then of great pains and perill, and small profit. But diffension creeping in, in after-ages (the eyes of common people at the best but dimme through ignorance being wholly blinded with partiality) it may seem their right of election was either devolved to, or assumed of the Bishop of the Dioces, who * onely was to appoint Curates in every parish. Afterwards to invite lay-men to build and endow Churches, the Bishops departed with their right to the lay Patrons according to the verse,

Patronum faciunt Dos, Aedificatio, Fundus.

A Patron's he that did endow with lands,

Or built the Church, or on whose ground it stands.

It being conceived reasonable that he who payed the Churches portion, should have the main stroke in providing her an husband. Then came Patronages to be annexed to Mannours, and by sale or descent to passe along with them; nor could any justly complain thereof, if all Patrons were like him we describe.

He counts the Living his to dispose, not to make profit of. He fears more to lapse his conscience, then his Living; fears more the committing then the discovery of Simony.

A Benefice he sometimes giveth speedily, never rashly. Some are long in bestowing them out of state, because they love to have many suiters; others out of covetousnesse will not

Acts 14.23. Xespolovisour-Tec. *Lib.1.epift.4 *Defence of the Answer to the Admoniti-

on. pag. 164.

* Concil.Tolesan.Auno 5 89. Can. 9. Synod. Antiochen. Can. 24.and 2 (oncil. Gangrenfe Can. 7. and 8.

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open their wares till all their chapmen are come together.

pretending to take the more deliberation.

He is deaf to opportunity, if wanting desert. Yet is he not of the mind of Tamberlane the Scythian King, who never gave Office to any that fought for it: for defiring proceeds not alwayes from want of deserving; yea God himself likes well that his favours should be sued for. Our Patron chiefly re. spects piety, sufficiency, and promise of painfulnesse, whereby he makes his election. If he can by the same deed provide for Gods house and his own familie, he counts it law. full, but on no terms will preferre his dearest and nearest fonne or kinfman if unworthy.

Concil. Palent. Anno 1322. Constis. 14.

* Vid. Videl. Comment. in

Epist. Ignatii ad Trallenses.

He hates not onely direct simony, or rather Gehazisme, by the string, but also that which goes about by the bow. Ancient Councels present us with severall forms hereof. I find how the Patrons sonnes and nephews were wont to feed upon the Incumbent, and eat out the presentation in great banques and dinners, till at last the Palentine Councel broughta voyder to such feasts, and made a canon against them. But the former ages were bunglers to the cunning contrivance of the limony-engineers of our times. O my foul come thou not into their secrets. As if they cared not to go to hell, so beit were not the nearest way, but that they might fetch a farre compasse round about. And yet father * Campian must not carry it so clearly, who taxeth the Protestants for maintaining of fimony. We confesse it a personall vice amongst us, but not to be charged as a Church-sinne, which by penall Laws it doth both prohibit and punish. Did Rome herein look upon the dust behind her own doores, she would have but little cause to call her neighbour slut. What saith the Epigram?

An Petrus fuerat Roma, sub judice lis est; Simonem Romæ nemo fuisse negat.

That Peter was at Rome, there's strife about it; That Simon was there, none did ever doubt it.

He hates corruption not onely in himself, but his servants. Otherwife it will do no good for the Master to throw bribes

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away, if the Men catch them up at the first rebound, yea before ever they come to the ground. * Cambden can tell you what Lord-Keeper it was in the dayes of Queen Elizabeth, who though himself an upright man was hardly spoken of for the basenesse of his servants in the sale of Ec.

clesiasticall preferments.

When he hath freely bestowed a Living, he makes no boasts of it. To do this were a kind of spirituall simony, to ask and receive applaule of others; as if the commonnesse of faulting herein made a right, and the rarity of giving things freely merited ex condigno a generall commendation. He expects nothing from the Clerk he presented but his prayers to God for him, respectfull carriage towards him, and painfulnesse. in his Calling, who having gotten his place freely may difcharge it the more faithfully : whereas those will scarce afford to feed their theep fat, who rent the pasture at too high a rate.

To conclude, let Patrons imitate this particular example of King William Rufus, who (though facrilegious in other acts) herein discharged a good conscience. Two Monks came to him to buy an Abbots place of him, feeking to outvie each other in offering great summes of money, whilest a third Monk stood by, and said nothing. To whom faid the King, What wilt thou give for the place. Not a penny, answered he, for it is against my conscience; but here I stay to wait home on him whom your Royall pleasure shall designe Abbot. Then quoth the King, Thou of the three best deservest the place, and shalt have it, and so

bestowed it on him.

CHAP. 13.

The good Landlord.

IS one that lets his land on a reasonable rate, so that the I Tenant by employing his stock, and using his industry, may make an honest livelihood thereby, to maintain himself and his children.

* In the life of Queen Elizab. Anno Dom. 1596.

Maxime I

His rent doth quicken his Tenant but not gall him. Indeed 'tis observed, that where Landlords are very easy, the Tenants (but this is per accidens, out of their own lazinesse) seldome thrive, contenting themselves to make up the just measure of their rent, and not labouring for any surplusage of estate. But our Landlord puts some metall into his Tenants industry, yet not granting him too much, lest the Tenant re. venge the Landlords cruelty to him upon his land.

Yet he raiseth his rents (or fines equivalent) in some proportion to the present price of other commodities. The plenty of money makes a feeming scarcity of all other things, and wares of all forts do daily grow dear. If therefore our Landlord should let his rents stand still as his Grandfather left them, whilest other wares dayly go on in price, he must needs be

cast farre behind in his estate.

* Holinshed p.

What he sells or sets to his Tenant, he suffers him quietly to enjoy according to his covenants. This is a great joy to a Tenant, though he buyes dear to possesse without disturbance. A strange example there was of Gods punishing a coverous Landlord at * Rye in Suffex, Anno 1570. He having a certain marish, wherein men on poles did dry their fishnets, received yearly of them a sufficient summe of money, till not content therewith he caused his servant to pluck up the poles, not suffering the fishermen to use them any longer, except they would compound at a greater rate. But it came to passe the same night that the sea breaking in covered the same marish with water, and so it still continueth.

He detests and abhorres all inclosure with depopulation. And because this may seem a matter of importance, we will break

it into severall propositions.

1 Inclosure may be made without depopulating. Infinites of examples shew this to be true. But depopulation hath cast a slander on inclosure, which because often done with it, people suspect it cannot be done without it.

2 Inclosure made without depopulating is injurious to none. I mean if proportionable allotments be made to the poore for their commonage, and free and leasehol-

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ders have a considerable share with the lord of the mannour.

- 3 Inclosure without depopulating is beneficiall to private persons.

 Then have they most power and comfort to improve their own parts, and for the time, and manner thereof may mould it to their own conveniencie. The Monarch of one acre will make more profit thereof then he that hath his share in fourty in common.
- 4 Inclosure without depopulating is profitable to the Commonwealth. If injurious to no private person, and profitable to them all, it must needs be beneficiall to the Common-wealth, which is but the Summa totalis of fundry persons, as severall figures. Besides, if a Mathematician should count the wood in the hedges, to what a mighty forrest would it amount? This underwood serves for supplies to save timber from burning, otherwise our wooden walls in the water must have been sent to the fire. Adde to this the strength of an inclosed Countrey against a forrein invasion. Hedges and counterhedges (having in number what they want in height and depth) serve for barracadoes, and will stick as birdlime in the wings of the horse, and scotch the wheeling about of the foot. Small refistance will make the enemy to earn every mile of ground as he marches. Object not, That inclosure destroyes tillage, the staff of a countrey, for it need not all be converted to pasturage. Cain and Abel may very well agree in the Common-wealth, the Plowman and Shepherd part the inclosures betwixt them.

Inclosure with depopulation is a canker to the Common-wealth. It needs no proof: wofull experience shews how it unhouses thousands of people, till desperate need thrusts them on the gallows. Long since had this land been sick of a plurisie of people, if not let blood in

their Western Plantations.

6 Inclosure with depopulation endammageth the parties themfelves. Tis a paradox and yet a truth, that reason shews

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* Mr Benthams Chriftian Conflict, pag.322.

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fuch inclosures to be gainfull, and experience proves them to be losse to the makers. It may be, because God being φιλάνθρωπος, a Lover of man, mankind, and mens society, and having said to them, Multiply and increase, counts it an affront unto him, that men depopulate, and whereas bees daily swarm, men make the hives fewer. The margin shall direct you to the * Authour that counts eleven mannours in Northhamptonshire thus inclosed: which towns have vomited out (to use his own expression) and unburthened themselves of their former desolating and depopulating owners, and I think of their posterity.

He rejoyceth to see his Tenants thrive. Yea he counts it a great honour to himself, when he perceiveth that God blesseth their endeavours, and that they come forward in the world. I close up all with this pleasant story. A Farmer renteda Grange generally reported to be haunted by Faries, and paid a shrewd rent for the same at each half years end. Now a Gentleman asked him how he durst be so hardy as to live in the house, and whether no Spirits did trouble him. Truth (said the Farmer) there be two Saints in heaven wex me mre then all the devils in hell, namely the Virgin Mary, and Michael the Archangel; on which dayes he paid his rent.

Снар. 14.

The good Master of a Colledge.

The Jews Anno 1348. were banished out of most countreys of Christendome, principally for poysoning of springs and fountains. Grievous therefore is their offense, who infect Colledges, the sountains of learning and religion; and it concerneth the Church and State, that the Heads of such houses be rightly qualified, such men as we come to character.

* Munster de German. lib. 3. pag. 457.

His learning if beneath eminency is farre above contempt. Sometimes

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times ordinary scholars make extraordinary good Masters. Every one who can play well on Apollo's narp cannot skilfully drive his chariot, there being a peculiar mystery of Government. Yea as a little allay makes gold to work the better, so (perchance) some dulnesse in a man makes him sitter to manage secular affairs; and those who have climbed up Parstassus but half way better behold worldly businesse (as lying low and nearer to their sight) then such as have climbed up to the top of the mount.

He not onely keeps the Statutes (in his study) but observes them: for the maintaining of them will maintain him, if he be questioned. He gives them their true dimensions, not racking them for one, and shrinking them for another, but making his conscience his daily Visitour. He that breaks the Statutes, and thinks to rule better by his own discretion, makes many gaps in the hedge, and then stands to stop one of them with a stake in his hand. Besides, thus to confound the will of the dead Founders, is the ready way to make living mens charitie (like St Hugh Willoughby in discovering the Northern passage) to be frozen to death, and will dishearten all stuture Benefactours.

He is principall Porter, and chief Chappell-monitour. For where the Master keeps his chamber alwayes, the scholars will keep theirs seldome, yea perchance may make all the walls of the Colledge to be gate. He seeks to avoid the inconvenience when the gates do rather divide then confine the scholars, when the Colledge is distinguished (as France into Cis & Transalpina) into the part on this, and on the otherside of the walls. As for out-lodgings (like galleries, necessary evils in populous Churches) he rather tolerates then approves them.

In his Elections he respecteth merit, not onely as the condition but as the cause thereof. Not like Leofricus Abbot of S. Albans, who would scarce admit any into his Covent though well deserving, except he was a * Gentleman born. He more respects literature in a scholar, then great mens letters for him. A learned Master of a Colledge in Cambridge (since made

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*Matth.Parif. in 23. Abbat. S. Alban.pag.

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He is observant to do all due right to Benefactours. If not piety, policy would dictate this unto him. And though he respects not Benefactours kinsmen, when at their first admission they count themselves born heirs apparent to all preferment which the house can heap on them, and therefore grow lazy and idle; yet he counts their alliance, seconded with mediocrity of desert, a strong title to Colledge-advancement.

He counts it lawfull to enrich himself, but in subordination to the Colledge good. Not like Varus, Governour of Syria, who came poore into the countrey, and found it rich, but departed thence rich, and lest the countrey poore. Methinks tis an excellent commendation which Trinity Colledge in Cambridge in her records bestows on Doctour Still once Master thereof. Se ferebat Patremsamilias providum, 23000 28900786901, nec Collegio gravis suit aut onerosus.

He disdains to nourish dissension amongst the members of his house. Let Machiavills Maxime, Divide & regnabis, if offering to enter into a Colledge-gate, sink thorow the grate, and fall down with the durt. For besides that the somenting of such discords agrees not with a good conscience, each party will watch advantages, and Pupils will often be made to suffer for their Tutours quarrells: Studium partium will be magna pars studiorum, & the Colledge have more rents then revenues.

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He scorneth the plot, to make onely dunces Fellows, to the end he may himself command in chief. As thinking that they who know nothing, will do any thing, and so he shall be a figure amongst cyphers, a bee amongst drones. Yet oftentimes such Masters are justly met with, and they find by experience, that the dullest horses are not easiest to be reined. But our Master endeavours so to order his elections, that every Scholar may be fit to make a Fellow, and every Fellow a Master.

CHAP. 15.

The life of D'. METCALF

Norkshire, was Archdeacon of Rochester, and Chaplain to John Fisher the Bishop thereof; by whom this our Doctour was employed to issue forth the monies for the building of S. Johns Colledge in Cambridge. For Margaret Countesse of Richmond and Derby intending to graft S. Johns Colledge into the old stock of S. Johns Hospitall, referr'd all to the Bishop of Rochester, and he used Metcals as an agent in all proceedings which did concern that Foundation: which will inferre him to be both a wise and an honest man.

Some make him to be but meanly * learned; and * one telleth us a long storie how a Sophister put a fallacie upon him, a fensu diviso ad sensum compositum, and yet the Doctours dimme eyes could not discern it. But such trisles were beneath him; and what wonder is it if a Generall long used in governing an armie, hath forgotten his school-play, and Fencers rules, to put by every thrust?

Doubtlesse, had not his learning been sufficient, Bishop Fisher, a great clerk himself, would not have placed him to govern the Colledge. But we know that some count all others but dry scholars, whose learning runneth in a different

* Ascham. Schoolmaster, 2. Book, fol.

* Lively in his Chron. of Perfian Monarch pag. 196.

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channell from their own: and it is possible, that the great distance betwixt men in matter of Religion might hinder the new learning in one to see the old learning in the other.

But grant that Metcalf, with Themistocles, could not fid. dle, yet he could make a little city a great one : though dull in himself, he could whet others by his encouragement. He found the Colledge spending scarce two hundred marks by the yeare, he left it spending a * thousand marks and more For he not onely procured and fettled many donations, and by-foundations (as we term them) of Fellowships, and Scholarships, founded by other; but was a Benefactour himself, Pro certis ornamentis & structuris in Capella, & pro adificatione fex Camerarum à tergo Coquina, &c. as it is evidenced in the Colledge books. He counted the Colledge his own home, and therefore cared not what cost he bestowed on it not like those Masters, who making their Colledges as steps to higher advancement will trample on them to raise up themselves, and using their wings to flie up to their own honour, cannot afford to spread them to brood their Colledge. But the thriving of the nourcery, is the best argument to prove the skill and care of the nource. See what store of worthy men the house in his time did yield:

William Cecill, Lord Burly, Sr. John Cheek, Statesmen. Walter Haddon. Ralph Bain, Coventrie and Lichfield. John Christopherson, Chichester, Robert Horn, Winton, James Pilkinton, Duresme, John Tailour, Lincoln. Thomas Wation. Lincoln. Roger Ascham, George * Bullock, Roger * Hutchinson, < Learned Writers.

Alban Langdale,

John Seaton.

* Pitzaus de Scriptor. Angli. pag. 773. * Baleus de Scriptor. Anglicanis.

Hugh

Hugh Fitz-Herbert, {
William Jreland, |
Laurence Pilkinton, {Learned Men.
------Tomson, |
Henry Wright.

With very many more. For though I dare not say that all these were old enough to bear fruit in Metcalfs time, yet sure I am by him they were inoculated, and in his dayes admit-

ted into the Colledge.

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Yet for all these his deserts Metcals in his old age was expell'd the Colledge, and driven out when he could scarce go. A new generation grew up (advanced by him) whose active spirits stumbled at his gravity (young seamen do count ballast needlesse yea burthensome in a ship) and endeavoured his removall. It appears not what particular fault they laid to his charge. Some think that the Bissop of Rochester his good lord being put to death, occasioned his ruine, Fishers missortune being Metcals highest misdemeanour. He sunk with his Patron, and when his sunne was set it was presently night with him: for according to the Spanish proverb, * where goes the bucket, there goes the rope, where the principall miscarries, all the dependants fall with him.

*Trà la foga con el calderen.

Others conceive it was for his partiality in preferring Northern men, as if in his compasse there were no points but such onely as looked to the North, advancing alone his own countrey-men, and more respecting their need then deserts. Indeed long * before, I find William Millington first Provost of Kings Colledge put out of his place, for his partiality in electing Yorkshire men.

But herein Metcalf is sufficiently justified: for he found Charity hottest in the cold countrey, Northern men were most * partiall (saith one) in giving lands to the Colledge, for the furtherance of learning. Good reason therefore Northern Scholars should be most watered there, where Northern Benefations.

ctours rained most.

Well, good old Metcalf must forsake the House. Methinks

* 1446. Manuscrip Hutcher Coll. Regal.

Ascham in loco citato. the blushing bricks seem asham'd of their ingratitudes, and each doore, window, and casement in the Colledge, was a

mouth to plead for him.

But what shall we say? Mark generally the grand deservers in States, and you shall find them lose their lustre be forethey end their life. The world, out of covetousnesse to save charges to pay them their wages, quarrelling with them, as if an over-merit were an offence. And whereas some impute this to the malignant influence of the heavens, I ascribe it rather to a pestilent vapour out of the earth; I mean, That rather men then starres are to be blamed for it.

He was twenty years Master, and on the 4 day of June 1537. Went out of his office, and it seems dyed soon after: his Epitaph is fastned on a piece of brasse on the wall, in the Colledge-Chappell. We must not forget that all who were great doers in his expulsion, were great sufferers afterwards, and dyed all in great * miserie. There is difference betwix prying into Gods secrets, and being stark blind: Yeal question whether we are not bound to look where God points by so memorable a judgement, shewing that those branches most justly whithered which pluck't up their own root.

* Omnes qui Metealfi excludendi autores exstiterunt, multis adversæ fortunæ procellis (five divinà ultione seu fato suo) jactati, de gradu dejecti & deturbati, inglorii mortem obierunt exemplo memorabili, Caius lib. I. Hift. Cantab. pag. 75.6 76.

CHAP. 16.

The good Schoolmaster.

There is scarce any profession in the Common-wealth more necessary. Which is so slightly performed. The reasons whereof I conceive to be these: first, young scholars make this calling their refuge, yea perchance before they have taken any degree in the University, commence School-masters in the countrey, as if nothing else were required to set up this profession but onely a rod and a ferula. Secondly, others who are able use it onely as a passage to better preferment, to patch the rents in their present fortune, till they can

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can provide a new one, and betake themselves to some more gainfull calling. Thirdly, they are disheartned from doing their best with the miserable reward which in some places they receive, being Masters to the children, and llaves to their parents. Fourthly, being grown rich, they grow negligent, and fcorn to touch the school, but by the proxie of an Usher. But see how well our Schoolmaster behaves himself.

His genius inclines him with delight to his profession. Some Maximo men had as lieve be schoolboyes as Schoolmasters, to be tyed to the school as Coopers Dictionary, and Scapula's Lexicon are chained to the desk therein; and though great scholars, and skilfull in other arts, are bunglers in this this: But God of his goodnesse hath fitted severall men for severall callings, that the necessity of Church, and State, in all conditions may be provided for. So that he who beholds the fabrick thereof may fay, God hewed out this stone, and appointed it to lie in this very place, for it would fit none other so well, and here it doth most excellent. And thus God mouldeth some for a Schoolmasters life, undertaking it with desire and delight and discharging it with dexterity and happy successe.

He studieth his scholars natures as carefully as they their books; and ranks their dispositions into severall forms. And though it may feem difficult for him in a great school to descend to all particulars, yet experienced Schoolmasters may quickly make a Grammar of boyes natures, and reduce them all (saving some few exceptions to these gene-

rall rules.

1 Those that are ingenious and industrious. The conjunction of two such Planets in a youth presage much good unto him. To fuch a lad a frown may be a whipping, and a whipping a death; yea where their Master whips them once, shame whips them all the week after. Such natures he useth with all gentlenesse.

2 Those that are iugenious and idle. These think with

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the hare in the fable, that running with snails (so they count the rest of their school-fellows) they shall come soon enough to the Post, though sleeping a good while before their starting. Oh, a good rod would

finely take them napping.

Those that are dull and diligent. Wines the stronger they be the more lees they have when they are new. Many boyes are muddy-headed till they be clarified with age, and such afterwards prove the best. Bristoll diamonds are both bright, and squared and pointed by Nature, and yet are fost and worthlesse; whereas orient ones in India are rough and rugged naturally. Hard rugged and dull natures of youth acquit themselves afterwards the jewells of the countrey, and therefore their dulnesse at first is to be born with, if they be diligent. That Schoolmaster deserves to be beaten himself, who beats Nature in a boy for a fault. And I question whether all the whipping in the world can make their parts which are naturally fluggish, rife one minute before the houre Nature hath appointed.

Those that are invincibly dull and negligent also. Correction may reform the latter, not amend the former. All the whetting in the world can never set a rassours edge on that which hath no steel in it. Such boyes he consigneth over to other prosessions. Shipwrights and boatmakers will choose those crooked pieces of timber, which other carpenters resule. Those may make excellent merchants and mechanicks which will not serve for Scho-

lars.

He is able, diligent, and methodicall in his teaching; not leading them rather in a circle then forwards. He minces his precepts for children to swallow, hanging clogs on the nimblenesse of his own soul, that his Scholars may go along with him.

cannot pay him his wages, payes the Scholar in his whipping. Rather are diligent lads to be encouraged with all excitements to Learning. This minds me of what I have heard concerning Mr. Bust, that worthy late Schoolmaster of Eaton, who would never suffer any wandring begging Scholar (such as justly the Statute hath ranked in the forefront of Rogues) to come into his school, but would thrust him our with earnestnesse (however privately charitable unto him) lest his school-boyes should be disheartned from their books, by seeing some Scholars after their studying in the University preferred to beggery.

He spoyls not a good school to make thereof a bad Colledge, therein to teach his Scholars Logick. For besides that Logick may have an action of trespasse against Grammar for encroaching on her liberties, Syllogismes are Solecismes taught in the school, and oftentimes they are forc'd afterwards in the University to unlearn the sumbling skill they had before.

Out of his school he is no whit pedanticall in carriage or discourse; contenting himself to be rich in Latine, though he doth not gingle with it in every company wherein he comes.

To conclude, Let this amongst other motives make Schoolmasters carefull in their place, that the eminencies of their Schoolars have commended the memories of their Schoolmasters to posterity, who otherwise in obscurity had altogether been forgotten. Who had ever heard of R. *Bond in Lancashire but for the breeding of learned Ascham his Scholar? or of *Hartgrave in Brundly school, in the same County, but because he was the first did teach worthy Doctour Whitaker, Nor do I honour the memory of Mulcaster for any thing so much, as for his Scholar, that gulf of learning, Bishop Andrews. This made the Athenians, the day before the great feast of Theseus their sounder, to sacrifice a ramme to the memory of *Conidas his Schoolmaster that first instructed him.

* Grant. in vit. Ascham. pag. 629.
* Ashton in the life of Whitaker, pag. 29.

* Plutar. in vit. Thesei.

CHAP 17.

CHAP. 17.

The good Merchant

Is one who by his trading claspeth the ilands to the continent, and one countrey to another. An excellent gardiner, who makes England bear wine, and oyl, and spices; vea herein goes beyond Nature in causing that Omnis fert omnia tellus. He wrongs neither himself, nor the Commonwealth, nor private chapmen which buy commodities of him. As for his behaviour towards the Commonwealth, it farre surpasses my skill to give any Rules thereof; onely this I know, that to export things of necessity, and to bring in forrein needlesse toyes, makes a rich Merchant, and a poore Kingdome: for the State loseth her radicall moysture, and gets little better then sweat in exchange, except, the necessaries which are exported be exceeding plentifull, which then though necessary in their own nature become superfluous through their abundance. We will content our selves to give some generall advertisements concerning his behaviour towards his chapmen, whom he useth well in the quantity, quality, and price of the commodities he fells them.

He wrongs not the buyer in Number, Weight, or Measure. These are the Land-marks of all trading, which must not be removed: for such cosenage were worse then open selony. First, because they rob a man of his purse, and never bid him stand. Secondly, because highway-thieves defie, but these pretend justice. Thirdly, as much as lies in their power, they endeavour to make God accessary to their cosenage, deceiving by pretending his weights. For God is the principal clark of the market, All the * weights of the bag are his work.

He never warrants any ware for good but what is so indeed. Otherwise he is a thief, and may be a murtherer, if selling such things as are apply'd inwardly. Besides, in such a case he counts himself guilty if he selleth such wares as are bad,

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though without his knowledge, if avouching them for good; because he may, professeth, and is bound to be Ma-Her in his own mystery, and therefore in conscience must recompence the buyers loffe, except he gives him an Item to buy it at his own adventure.

He either tells the faults in his ware, or abates proportionably in the price he demands: for then the low value shews the vicious nesse of it. Yet commonly when Merchants depart with their commodities, we heare (as in funerall orations) all

the virtues but none of the faults thereof.

He never demands out of distance of the price he intends to take: If not alwayes within the touch, yet within the reach of what he means to sell for. Now we must know there be foure severall prices of vendible things. First, the Price of the market, which ebbes and flows according to the plenty or scarcity of coyn, commodities, and chapmen. Secondly, the Price of friendship, which perchance is more giving then felling, and therefore not so proper at this time. Thirdly, the Price of fancie, as twenty pounds or more for a dog or hauk, when no fuch inherent worth can naturally be in them, but by the buyers and sellers fancie reflecting on them. Yet I believe the money may be lawfully taken. First, because the seller sometimes on those terms is as loth to forgo it, as the buyer is willing to have it. And I know no standard herein whereby mens affections may be measured. Secondly, it being a matter of pleasure, and men able and willing, let them pay for it, Volenti non fit injuria. Lastly, there is the Price of colenage, which our Merchant from his heart detests and abhorres.

He makes not advantage of his chapmans ignorance, chiefly if referring himself to his honesty: where the sellers conscience is all the buyers skill, who makes him both seller and judge, so that he doth not so much ask as order what he must pay. When one told old Bishop Latimer that the Cutler had cofened him, in making him pay twopence for a knife not (in those dayes) worth a peny; No, quoth Latimer, he cosen'd not me but his own conscience. On the other side

S. * Au-

	S. * Augustine tells us of a seller, who out of ignorance
	asked for a book farre lesse then it was worth, and the buy-
	er (conceive himself to be the man if you please (of his
١	own accord gave him the full value thereof.

He makes not the buyer pay the shot for his prodigality; as when the Merchant through his own ignorance or ill husbandry hath bought dear, he will not bring in his unnecessary exacts on the buyers score: and in such a case he is bound

to sell cheaper then he bought.

Selling by retail he may justifie the taking of greater gain: because of his care, pains, and cost of setching those wares from the fountain, and in parcelling and dividing them. Yet because retailers trade commonly with those who have least skill what they buy, and commonly sell to the poorer sort of people, they must be carefull not to grate on their necessity.

But how long shall I be retailing out rules to this Merchant? It would employ a Casuist an apprentiship of years: take our Saviours whole-sale rule, Whatsoever ye would have men do unto you, do you unto them; for this is the Law, and the

Prophets.

CHAP. 18.

The good Yeoman.

Is a Gentleman in Ore, whom the next age may see refined; and is the wax capable of a gentile impression, when the Prince shall stamp it. Wise Solon (who accounted * Tellus the Athenian the most happy man for living privately on his own lands) would surely have pronounced the English Yeomanry, a fortunate condition, living in the temperate Zone, betwixt greatuesse and want, an estate of people almost peculiar to England. France and Italy are like a die, which hath no points between sink and ace, Nobility and Pesantry. Their walls though high, must needs be hollow, wanting filling stones. Indeed Germany hath

* Lib. 13. de Trinicat. c. 3.

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* Herodotus lib. 1.pag. 12.

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her Boores, like our Yeomen, but a tyrannicall appropriation of Nobility to some few ancient families, their Yeomen are excluded from ever rifing higher to clarifie their bloods. In England the Temple of Honour is bolted against none, who have passed through the Temple of Virtue: For is a capacity to be gentile denyed to our Yeoman, who thus behaves himself.

Maxime I

He wears russet clothes, but makes golden payment, having tinne in his buttons, and filver in his pocket. If he chance to appear in clothes above his rank, it is to grace some great man with his service, and then he blusheth at his own bravery. Otherwise he is the surest land-mark, whence forreiners may take aim of the ancient English customes; the

Gentry more floting after forrein fashions.

In his house he is bountifull both to strangers, and poore people. Some hold, when Hospitality died in England, she gave her last groan amongst the Yeomen of Kent. And still at our Yeomans table you shall have as many joints as dishes: No meat disguis'd with strange sauces; no straggling joynt of a sheep in the midst of a pasture of grasse, beset with sallads on every side, but solid substantiall food, no serviters (more nimble with their hands then the guests with their teeth) take away meat, before stomachs are taken away. Here you have that which in it self is good, made better by the store of it, and best by the welcome to it.

He hath a great stroke in. making a Knight of the shire. Good reason for he makes a whole line in the subsidie book, where whatsoever he is rated he payes without any regret, not caring how much his purse is let blood, so it be done by the advise of the physicians of the State.

He seldome goes farre abroad, and his credit stretcheth further then his travell. He goes not to London, but se defendendo to save himself of a fine, being returned of a Jurie, where seeing the King once, he prayes for him ever afterwards.

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In bis own countrey he is a main man in Iuries. Where it the Judge please to open his eyes in matter of law, he needs not to be led by the nose in matters of fact. He is very ob-

fervant

fervant of the Judges item, when it follows the truths inprimis, otherwise (though not mutinous in a Jurie) he cares not whom he displeaseth so he pleaseth his own conscience.

He improveth his land to a double value by his good husbandry. Some grounds that wept with water, or frown'd with thorns, by draining the one, and clearing the other, he makes both to laugh and fing with corn. By marle and limestones burnt he bettereth his ground, and his industry worketh miracles, by turning stones into bread. Conquest and good husbandry both inlarge the Kings Dominions: The one by the fword, making the acres more in number; the other by the plough, making the same acres more in value. Solomon faith, The King himself is maintained by husbandry. Pythis * a King having discovered rich mines in his kingdome, employed all his people in digging of them, whence tilling was wholly neglected, infomuch as a great famine enfued. His Queen, sensible of the calamities of the countrey, invited the King her husband to dinner, as he came home hungry from overfeeing his workmen in the mines. She fo contrived it, that the bread and meat were most artificially made of gold; and the King was much delighted with the conceit thereof, till at last he called for reall meat to satisfie his hunger. Nay, said the Queen, if you employ all your subjects in your mines, you must expect to feed upon gold, for nothing else can your kingdome afford.

In time of famine he is the Foseph of the countrey, and keeps the poore from Sterving. Then he tameth his stacks of corn, which not his covetousnesse but providence hath reserved for time of need, and to his poore neighbours abateth somewhat of the high price of the market. The neighbour gentry court him for his acquaintance, which either he modestly waveth, or thankfully accepteth, but no way greedily desireth. He insults not on the ruines of a decayed Gentleman, but pities and relieves him: and as he is called Goodman, he desires to answer to the name, and to be so indeed.

In warre, though he serveth on foot, he is ever mounted on an high spirit:

* Plutarch.de virtut. mulierum, exemplo ultimo.

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*Bacons Hen-

Spirit: as being a flave to none, and a subject onely to his own Prince. Innocence and independance make a brave spirit: Whereas otherwise one must ask his leave to be valiant on whom depends. Therefore if a State run up all to Noble men and Gentlemen, so that the husbandmen be onely meer labourers, or cottagers, (which * one calls but hous'd beggers) it may have good Cavalry, but never good bands of foot; so that their armies will be like those birds call'd Apodes, without feet, alwayes onely flying on their wings of horse. Wherefore to make good Infantry, it requireth men bred, not in a servile or indigent fashion, but in some free and plentifull manner. Wisely therefore did that knowing Prince, King Henry the seventh, providelaws for the increase of his Yeomanry, that his kingdome should not be like to Coppice-woods; where the staddles being left too thick, all runs to bushes and briers, and there's little clean underwood. For enacting, that houses used to husbandry should be kept up with a competent proportion of land, he did secretly sow Hydra's teeth, whereupon (according to the Poets fiction (should rife up armed men for the service of this kingdome.

CHAP. 19. The Handicrafts-man.

HE is a necessary member in a Common-wealth: For though Nature, which hath armed most other creatures, sent man naked into the world, yet in giving him hands and wit to use them, in effect she gave him Shells, Scales, Paws, Claws, Horns, Tusks, with all offensive and defensive weapons of Beasts, Fish and Fowl, which by the help of his hands in imitation he may provide for himself, and herein, the skill of our Artisan doth consist.

Maxime 1 * 1. Cor. 12.

His trade is such whereby he provides things necessary for mankind. What S. * Paul saith of the naturall is also true of the politick body, those members of the body are much more necessary which seem most feeble. Mean trades for prosit, tl

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are most necessary in the State, and a house may better want a gallery then a kitchin. The Philistins knew this when they massacred all the smiths in Israel (who might worse be spared then all the userers therein) and whose hammers nail the Common-wealth together, being necessary both in peace and warre.

Or else his trade contributeth to mans lawfull pleasure. God is not so hard a master, but that he alloweth his servants sauce

(besides hunger) to eat with their meat.

But in no case will he be of such a trade which is a mere Pander to mans lust; and onely serves their wantonnesse (which is pleasure runne stark mad) and foolish curiosity. Yet are there too many extant of such professions, which one would think, should stand in dayly fear lest the world should turn wise, and so all trades be cashierd, but that (be it spoken to their shame) its as safe a tenure to hold a lively-hood by mens ryot, as by their necessity.

The wares he makes shew good to the eye, but prove better in the use. For he knows if he sets his mark (the Tower-stamp of his credit) on any bad wares, he sets a deeper brand on his own conscience. Nothing hath more debased the credit of our English cloth beyond the seas, then the deceitfull-nesse in making them, since the Fox hath crept under the

fliece of the Sheep.

By his ingenuousnesse he leaves his art better then he found it. Herein the Hollanders are excellent, where children get their living, when but newly they have gotten their life, by their industrie. Indeed Nature may seem to have made those Netherlanders the younger brethren of mankind, allowing them little land, and that also standing in dayly fear of a double deluge, of the sea and the Spaniard: but such is their painfulnesse and ingenuity, hating lazinesse as much as they love liberty, that what commodities grow not on their Countrey by nature they graft on it by art, and have wonderfully improved all making of Manusactures, Stuffes, Clocks, Watches: these latter at first were made so great and heavy, it was rather a burden then an ornament to wear

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them, though fince watches have been made as light and little, as many that wear them make of their time.

He is willing to communicate his skill to posterity. An invention though found is lost if not imparted. But as it is reported of some old toads, that before their death they suck up the gelly in their own heads (which otherwise would be hardned into a pretious stone) out of spight, that men should receive no benefit thereby; so some envious Artisans will have their cunning die with them, that none may be the better for it, and had rather all mankind should lose, then any man gain by them.

He feldome attaineth to any very great estate: except his trade hath some outlets and excursions into wholesale and merchandize; otherwise mere Artificers cannot heap up much wealth. It is difficult for gleaners, without stealing whole sheaves, to fill a barn. His chief wealth consistent in enough, and that he can live comfortably, and leave his

children the inheritance of their education.

Yet he is a grand Benefactour to the Commonwealth. England in former ages, like a dainty dame, partly out of state, but more out of lazinesse, would not suckle the fruit of her own body, to make the best to battle and improve her own commodities, but put them out to nurse to the Netherlanders, who were well paid for their pains. In those dayes the Sword and the Plough so took up all mens imployments that clothing was whollie neglected, and scarce any other webs to be found in houses, then what the spiders did make. But fince she hath seen and mended her errour, making the best use of her own wooll; and indeed the riches of a kingdome doth confift in driving the home-commodities thereof as farre as they will go, working them to their very perfection, imploying more handicrafts thereby. The sheep feeds more with his fliece then his flesh, doing the one but once, but the other once a yeare, many families subfifting by the working thereof. Let not meaner persons be displeased with reading those verses wherewith Queen Elisabeth her self was so highly affected, when in the one

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one and twentieth yeare of her * reigne she came in progresse to Norwich, wherein a child, representing the state of the City spake to her highnesse as followeth,

*Hollingskead pag. 1290.

Most gracious Prince, undoubted Sovereigne Queen,
Our onely joy, next God, and chief defence,
In this small shew our whole estate is seen,
The wealth we have, we find proceeds from hence:
The idle hand hath here no place to feed,
The painfull wight hath still to serve his need.

Again, our feat denies us traffick here.
The fea too near decides us from the rest:
So weak we were within this dozen yeare,
That care did quench the courage of the beft:
But good advice hath taught these * little hands
To rend in twain the force of pining bands.

From combed woell we draw this stender thread,
From thence the looms have dealing with the same,
And thence again in order do proceed
These severall works which skilfull art doth frame:
And all to drive dame Need into her cave
Our heads and hands together laboured have.

We bought before the things which now we fell:
These stender imps, their works do passe the waves:
Gods peace and thine we hold, and prosper well,
Of every mouth the hands the charges saves:
Thus through thy help, and aid of power divine
Doth Norwich live, whose hearts and goods are thine.

We have cause to hope that as we have seen the cities Dornicks and Arras brought over into England, so posterity may see all Flaunders brought hither, I mean that their works shall be here imitated, and that either our land shall be taught to bear forrein commodities, or our people taught to forbear the using of them.

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* Sixteen litile children were there presented to her Majestie, eight spinning worsted, and eight knitting yarne hose.

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I should now come to give the description of the Day-Labourer (of whom we have onely a dearth in a plentifull harvest) but seeing his character is so co-incident with the hired servant, it may well be spared. And now wee's rise from the hand to the arm, and come to describe the Souldier.

CHAP. 20.

The good Souldier.

A Souldier is one of a lawfull, necessary, commendable, and honourable profession; yea God himself may seem to be one free of the company of Souldiers, in that he styleth himself, A man of warre. Now though many hate Souldiers as the twigs of the rod Warre, were with God scourgeth wanton countreys into repentance, yet is their calling so needfull, that were not some Souldiers we must be all Souldiers, dayly imployed to defend our own, the world would grow so licentious.

Maxime I

He keepeth a clear and quiet conscience in his breast, which otherwise will gnaw out the roots of all valour. for vicious Souldiers are compassed with enemies on all sides, their soes without them, and an ambush within them of sleshly lusts, which, as S. Peter saith, fight against the soul. None sitter to go to war, then those who have made their peace with God in Christ; for such a mans soul is an impregnable fort: It cannot be scaled with ladders, for it reacheth up to heaven; nor be broken by batteries, for it is walled with brasse; nor undermined by pioners, for he is founded on a rock; nor betrayed by treason, for faith it self keeps it; nor be burnt by granadoes, for he can quench the fiery darts of the devil; nor be forced by famine, for a good conscience is a continual seast.

He chiefly avoids those sinnes, to which Souldiers are taxed as most subject. Namely common swearing, which impaireth ones credit by degrees, and maketh all his promises not to be trusted; for he who for no profit will sinne against God,

for small profit will trespasse against his neighbour; drinking, whoring. When valiant Zisca, near Pilsen in Bohemia, sought against his enemies, he commanded the women which sollowed his army, to cast their kercheifs and partlets on the ground, wherein their enemies being entangled by their spurs (for though horsemen, they were forced to alight, and fight on foot, through the roughnesse of the place) were slain before they could * unloose their seet. A deep morall may be gathered hence, and women have often been the nets to catch and ensnare the souls of many Martiall men.

He counts his Princes lawfull command to be his sufficient warrant to fight. In a defensive warre, when his countrey is *hostiley invaded, 'tis pity but his neck should hang in suspence with his conscience that doubts to fight; in offensive warre, though the case be harder, the common Souldier is not to dispute, but do * his Princes command. Otherwise Princes, before they leavie an army of Souldiers must first leavie an army of Casuists and Confessours to satisfie each scrupulous Souldier in point of right to the warre; and the most cowardly will be the most conscientious, to multiply doubts eternally. Besides, causes of warre are so complicated and perplex'd, fo many things falling in the profecution, as may alter the originall state thereof, and private Souldiers have neither calling nor ability ro dive into such mysteries. But if the conscience of a Counsellour or Commander in chief, remonstrates in himself the unlawfulnesse of this warre, he is bound humbly to represent to his Prince his reasons against it.

He esteemeth all hardship easie through hopes of victory. Moneys are the sinews of warre, yet if these sinews should chance to be shrunk, and pay casually fall short, he takes a fit of this convulsion patiently; he is contented though in cold weather his hands must be their own fire, and warm themselves with working; though he be better armed against their enemies then the weather, and his corslet wholler then his clothes; though he hath more Fasts and Vigils in his

*Fox Acts and Monum. pag.

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* Iu publicos hostes omnis homo miles, Tertull. Apol. cap. 2.

*Amefins Caf. Conscientib.s. cap. 33.

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almanack then the Romish Church did ever enjoy: he patiently endureth drought for desire of honour, and one thirst quencheth another. In a word, though much indebted to his own back and belly, aud unable to pay them, yet he hath credit himself, and considently runnes on ticket with himself, hoping the next victory will discharge all scores with advantage.

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He looks at and also through his wages, at Gods glory, and his countreys good. He counts his pay an honourable addition, but no valuable compensation for his pains: for what proportion is there betwixt foure shillings aweek, and adventuring his life? I cannot see how their calling can be lawfull, who for greater wages will fight on any side against their own King and cause; yea as false witnesses were hired against our blessed * Saviour (money will make the mouths of men plead against their Maker) so were the Giants now in the world, who, as the Poets seigned, made warre against God himself, and should they offer great pay, they would not want mercenary Souldiers to assist them.

Mat. 28, 15.

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He attends with all readinesse on the commands of his Generall; rendring up his own judgement in obedience to the will and pleasure of his Leader, and by an implicite faith believing all is best which he enjoyneth; lest otherwise he be served as the French Souldier was in Scotland some eighty years since, who first mounted the bulwark of a fort besieged, whereupon ensued the gaining of the fort: but Marescol de * Thermes, the French Generall, first knighted him, and then hanged him within an houre after, because he had done it without commandment.

* Hollman in his book of the Embassadour.

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He will not in a bravery expose himself to needlesse perill. Tis madnesse to holloe in in the ears of sleeping temptation, to awaken it against ones self, or to go out of his calling to find a danger: But if a danger meets him (as he walks in his vocation) he neither stands still, starts aside, nor steps backward, but either goes over it with valour, or under it with patience. All single Duells he detesteth, as having first no command in Gods Word; year this arbitrary deciding

causes by the sword subverts the fundamentall Laws of the Scripture: Secondly, no example in Gods Word, that of David and Goliah moving in an higher Sphere, as extraordinary: Thirdly, it tempts God to work a Miracle for mans pleasure, and to invert the course of nature, whereby otherwise the stronger will beat the weaker: Fourthly, each Dueller challengeth his King as unable or unwilling legally to right him, and therefore he usurps the office himself: Fifthly, if slaying, he hazards his neck to the halter; if slain, in heat of malice, without repentance, he adventures his soul to the devil.

Object. But there are some intricate cases (as in Titles of land) which cannot otherwise be decided. Seeing therefore that in such difficulties, the right in question cannot be delivered by the midwifery of any judiciall proceedings, then it must (with Julius Cæsar in his mothers belly) be cut out and be determined by the sword.

Answ. Such a right may better be lost, then to light a candle from hell to find it out, if the Judges cannot find a middle way to part it betwixt them. Besides, in such a case Duells are no medium proportionatum to find out the truth, as never appointed by God to that purpose. Nor doth it follow that he hath the best in right, who hath the best in sight; for he that reads the lawfulnesse of actions by their events, holds the wrong end of the book upwards.

Object. But suppose an army of thirty thousand Insidels ready to fight against ten thousand Christians, yet so that at last the Insidels are contented to try the day upon the valour of a single Champion; whether in such a case may not a Christian undertake to combat with him, the rather because the trebble oddes before is thereby reduced to terms of equalitie, and so the vi-

ctory is made more probable.

Answ. The victory was more probable before; because it is more likely God will blesse his own means, then

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means of mans appointing: and it is his prerogative to give victory, as well by few as by many. Probability of conquest is not to be measured by the eye of humane reason, contrary to the square of Gods Word. Besides, I question whether it be lawfull for a Christian army to derive their right of fighting Gods battels to any fingle man. For the title every man hath to promote Gods glory, is so invested and inherent in his own particular person, that he cannot passe it over to another. None may appear in Gods service by an Atturney; and when Religion is at the stake, there must be no lookers on (except impotent people, who also help by their prayers) and every one is bound to lav his shoulders to the work. Lastly, would to God no Duels might be fought till this case came into question. But how many daily fall out upon a more falle, flight, and flitting ground, then the sands of Callis whereon they fight: especially, seeing there is an honourable Court appointed, or some other equivalent way, for taking up such quarrells, and allowing reparations to the party injured.

Object. But Reputation is so spirituall a thing it is inestimable, and Honour falls not under valuation: Besides, to complain to the civil Magistrate sheweth no
manhood, but is like a childs crying to his father,
when he is onely beaten by his equall; and my enemies forc'd acknowledgement of his fault (enjoyn'd
him by the Court) shews rather his submission to
the laws then to me. But if I can civilize his rudenesse
by my sword, and chastize him into submission, then
he sings his penitential song in the true tune, and it

comes naturally indeed.

Answ. Honourable persons in that Court are the most competent Judges of Honour, and though Credit be as tender as the apple of the eye, yet such curious oculists can cure a blemish therein. And why, I pray, is it more disgrace to repair to the Magistrate for redresse in Re-

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putation, then to have recorse to him in actions of trespasse? The prentence of a forced submission is nothing, all submissions having aliquid violentum in them; and even the Evangelicall repentance of Gods servants hath a mixture of legall terrour frighting them thereto.

Object. But Gownmen speak out of an antipathy they bear to fighting: should we be rul'd by them, we must break all our swords into penknises; and Lawyers, to enlarge their gains, send prohibitions to remove suits from the Camps to their Courts: Divines are not to be consulted with herein, as ignorant of the principles of Honour.

Answ. Indeed Honour is a word of course in the talk of roring boyes, and pure enough in it self, except their mouths soil it by often using of it: But indeed God is the fountain of Honour, Gods Word the Charter of Honour, and godly men the best Judges of it; nor is it any stain of cowardlinesse for one to sear hell and damnation.

We may therefore conclude that the laws of Duelling, as the laws of drinking, had their original from the devil; and therefore the declining of needlesse quarrels in our Souldier, no abatement of Honour. I commend his discretion and valour, who walking in London-streets met a gallant, who cryed to him a pretty distance beforehand, I will have the wall? Yea (answered he) and take the house too, if you can but agree with the Landlord. But when God, and his Prince, calls for him, our Souldier

Had rather die ten times then once survive his credit. Though life be sweet, it shall not flatter the pallat of his soul, as with the sweetnesse of life to make him swallow down the bitternesse of an eternall disgrace: He begrutcheth not to get to his side a probability of victory by the certainty of his own death, and slieth from nothing so much as from the mention of slying. And though some say he is a mad-man that will purchase Honour so dearly with his bloud, as that

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he cannot live to enjoy what he hath bought; our Souldier knows that he shall possesse the reward of his valour with God in heaven, and also making the world his executor.

leave to it the rich inheritance of his memory.

Tet in some cases he counts it no disgrace to yield, where it is impossible to conquer; as when swarms of enemies crowd about him, so that he shall rather be stifled then wounded to death: In such a case if quarter be offered him he may take it with more honour then the other can give it; and if he throws up his desperate game, he may happily winne the next, whereas if he playeth it out to the last, he shall certainly lose it and himself. But if he be to fall into the hand of a barbarous enemy, whose giving him quarter is but repriving him for a more ignominious death, he had rather disbutle his life at the present, then to take day to fall into the hands of fuch remorflesse creditours.

He makes none the object of his cruelty, which cannot be the object of his fear. Lyons they say (except forc'd with hunger) will not prey on women and children, * though I would wish none to try the truth hereof: the truly valiant will not hurt women or infants, nor will they be cruell to old men, What conquest is it to strike him up, who stands but on one leg, and hath the other foot in the grave? But arrant cowards (fuch as would conquer victory it felf, if it should stand in their way as they flie count themselves never evenly match'd except they have threefold oddes on their fide, and esteem their enemie never disarmed till they be dead. Such love to Thew a nature steep'd in gall of passion, and display the ignoble tyranny of prevailing dastards: these being thus valiant against no resistance, will make no resistance when

He counts it murther to kill any in could bloud. Indeed in taking Cities by affault (especially when Souldiers have suffered long in an hard siege) it is pardonable what present passion doth with a sudden thrust; but a premeditated back-blow in cold bloud is base. Some excuse there is for bloud enraged, and no wonder if that scaldeth which boy-

they meet with true valour.

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* Plin. Nat. Hift.lib.8.cap.

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leth: but when men shall call a consultation in their soul, and issue thence a deliberate act, the more advised the deed is, the lesse advised it is, when men raise their own passions, and are not raised by them; specially if fair quarter be first granted; an alms which he who gives to day may crave to morrow, yea, he that hath the hilt in his hand in the morning, may have the point at his throat ere night.

He doth not barbarously abuse the bodies of his dead enemies. We find that Hercules was the * first (the most valiant are ever the most mercifull) that ever suffered his enemies to carry away their dead bodies, after they had been put to the sword. Belike before his time they cruelly cut the corps in pieces, or cast them to the wild beasts.

In time of plenty he provides for want hereafter. Yet generally Souldiers (as if they counted one Treasurer in an army were enough) so hate covetousnesse that they cannot affect providence for the suture, and come home with more marks in their bodies then pence in their pockets.

He is willing and joyfull to embrace peace on good conditions. The procreation of peace, and not the satisfing of mens lusts and liberties, is the end of warre. Yet how many, having warre for their possession, desire, a perpetuity thereof! Wiser men then King Henry the eights fool use to cry in fair weather, whose harvest being onely in storms, they themselves desire to raise them; wherefore fearing peace will starve, whom warre hath satted, and to render themselves the more useful they prolong discord to the utmost, and could wish when swords are once drawn that all scabbards might be cut as funder.

He is as quiet and painfull in peace, as couragious in warre. If he hath not gotten already enough whereon comfortably to subsist, he rebetakes himself to his former calling he had before the warre began: the wielding of his sword hath not made him unwieldie to do any other work, and put his bones out of joynt to take pains. Hence comes it to passe, that some take by-courses on the high-wayes, and death, whom they honourably fought for in the field, meets them in a worse place.

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* Plutarch in vita Thesei, Pagin. 15.

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But we leave our Souldier, seeking by his virtues to ascend from a private place, by the degrees of Sergeant, Lieutenant, Captain, Colonell, till he come to be a Generall, and then in the next book, God willing, you shall have his example.

CHAP. 21.

The good Sea-Captain.

His Military part is concurrent with that of the Souldier already described: He differs onely in some Seaproperties, which we will now set down. Conceive him now in a Man of warre, with his letters of mart, well arm'd victuall'd and appointed, and see how he acquits himself.

The more power he hath, the more carefull he is not to abuse it. Indeed a Sea-captain is a King in the lland of a ship, supreme Judge, above appeal, in causes civil and criminall, and is seldome brought to an account in Courts of Justice

on land, for injuries done to his own men at fea.

He is carefull in observing of the Lords day. He hath a watch in his heart though no bells in a steeple to proclaim that day by ringing to prayers. Sr. Francis Drake * in three years sailing about the world lost one whole day, which was scarce considerable in so long time. Tis to be feared some Captains at sea lose a day every week, one in seven, neglecting the Sabbath.

He is as pious and thankfull when a tempest is past, as devout when 'tis present: not clamorous to receive mercies, and tongue-tied to return thanks. Many mariners are calm in a storm, and storm in a calm, blustring with oathes. In a tempest it comes to their turn to be religious, whose piety is but a fit of the wind, and when that's allayed, their devotion is

ended.

Escaping many dangers makes him not presumptuous to run into them. Not like those Sea-men who (as if their hearts were mad

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* Manuscr. of Mr. Fortescue who went with him.

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made of those rocks they have often sailed by are so alwayes indeath they never think of it. These in their navigations observe that it is farre hotter under the Tropicks in the coming to the Line, then under the Line it self, and in like manner they conceive that the sear and fancy in preparing for death is more terrible then death it self, which makes them by degrees desperately to contemne it.

In taking a prize he most prizeth the mens lives whom he takes; though some of them may chance to be Negroes or Savages. Tis the custome of some to cast them over-board, and there's an end of them: for the dumbe sishes will tell no tales. But the murder is not so soon drown'd as the men. What, is a brother by half bloud no kinne? a Savage hath God to his father by creation, though not the Church to his mother, and God will revenge his innocent bloud. But our Captain counts the image of God neverthelesse his image cut in ebony as if done in ivory, and in the blackest Moores he sees the representation of the King of heaven.

In dividing the gains he wrongs none who took pains to get them. Not shifting off his poore mariners with nothing, or giving them onely the garbage of the prize, and keeping all the slesh to himself. In time of peace he quietly returns home, and turns not to the trade of Pirates, who are the worst seavermine, and the devils water-rats.

His voyages are not onely for profit, but some for honour and knowledge; to make discoveries of new countreys, imitating the worthy Peter Columbus. Before his time the world was cut off at the middle; Hercules Pillars (which indeed are the navell) being made the feet, and utmost bounds of the continent, till his successful industry inlarged it.

Primus ab infusis quod terra emerserat undis Nuncius adveniens ipsa * Columba fuit. Occiduis primus qui terram invenit in undis Nuncius adveniens ipse Columbus erat.

Our Sea-captain is likewise ambitious to perfect what the other began. He counts it a disgrace, seeing all mankind is one familie, sundry countreys but severall rooms, that we who

* Gen. 8. 11.

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who dwell in the parlour (so he counts Europe) should not know the outlodgings of the same house, and the world be scarce acquainted with it self before it be dissolved from

it self at the day of judgement.

He daily fees, and duly confiders Gods wonders in the deep. Tell me, ye Naturalists, who founded the first march and retreat to the Tide, Hither shalt thou come, and no further? Why doth not the water recover his right over the earth, being higher in nature? whence came the falt, and who first boyled it. which made so much brine: when the winds are not onely wild in a ftorm, but even ftark mad in an herricano, who is it that restores them again to their wits, and brings them asleep in a calm? who made the mighty whales, who swim in a fea of water, and have a fea of oyl swimming in them? who first taught the water to imitate the creatures on land? fo that the sea is the stable of horse-fishes, the stall of kinefishes, the stye of hog-fishes, the kennell of dog-fishes, and in all things the fea the ape of the land. Whence grows the amber-greece in the Sea? which is not so hard to find where it is, as to know, what it is. Was not God the first shipwright? and all vessels on the water descended from the loyns (or ribs rather) of Noahs ark; or else who durft be so bold with a few crooked boards nailed together, a flick standing upright, and a rag tied to it, to adventure into the ocean? what loadstone first touched the loadstone? or how first fell it in love with the North, rather affecting that cold climate, then the pleasant East, or fruitfull South, or West? how comes that stone to know more then men, and find the way to the land in a mist? In most of these men take sanctuary at Occulta qualitas, and complain that the room is dark; when their eyes are blind. Indeed they are Gods Wonders; and that Seaman the greatest Wonder of all for his blockishnesse, who seeing them daily neither takes notice of them, admires at them, nor is thankfull forthem.

ain is likewife ambidous to perfect what the began. He counts to a difference, feeing all mankind is . A A H. O moder sometrey but everall cooms, that we ody



CHAP. 22.

The life of Sir FRANCIS DRAKE.

Rancis Drake was born nigh fouth Tavestock in Drake his nepher in the honour betwixt two Counties, that the one might have his bird woyage. birth, and the other his education. His father, being a Mi- Epifile to the nister, fled into Kent for fear of the fix Articles, wherein the sting of Popery still remained in England, though the teeth thereof were knock'd out, and the Popes Supremacy abolished. Coming into Kent, he bound M 2

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his son Francis Apprentice to the Master of a small bark, which traded into France, and Zeland, where he underwent a hard service; and pains with patience in his youth did knit the joynts of his foul, and made them more folid and compacted. His Mafter dying unmarried, in reward of his industry, bequeath'd his bark unto him for a

Legacy.

For some time he continued his Masters profession: But the narrow Seas were a prison for so large a Spirit, born for greater undertakings. He foon grew weary of his bark, which would scarce go alone but as it crept along by the shore: wherefore selling it, he unfortunately ventured most of his estate with Captain John Hawkins into the West Indies, whose goods were taken by the Spaniards at S. John de Ulva, and he himself scarce escaped with life. The King of Spain being so tender in those parts, that the least touch doth wound him; and so jealous of the West Indies, his Wife, that willingly he would have none look upon her; he therefore used them with the greater severity.

Drake was perswaded by the Minister of his ship that he might lawfully recover in value of the King of Spain, and repair his losses upon him any where else. The case was clear in fea-divinity, and few are such Infidels, as not to believe doarines which make for their own profit. Whereupon Drake, though a poor private man, hereafter undertook to revenge himself on so mighty a Monarch; who, as not contented that the Sun rifeth and setteth in his dominions, may feem to defire to make all his own where he shineth. And now let us see how a dwarf, standing on the Mount of Gods providence, may prove an overmatch

After two or three feveral Voyages to gain intelligence in the West Indies, and some prizes taken, at last he effectually fet forward from Plimmouth with two ships, the one of seventy, the other twenty five tunnes, and seventy three men and boyes in both. He made with all speed

for a giant.

and secrecy to Nombre de Dios, as loth to put the Town to too much charge (which he knew they would willingly bestow) in providing beforehand for his entertainment; which City was then the granary of the West Indies, wherein the golden harvest brought from Panama was hoarded up till it could be conveyed into Spain. They came hard aboard the shore, and lay quiet all night intending to at-

tempt the Town in the dawning of the day.

But he was forced to alter his resolution, and assault it sooner; for he heard his men muttering amongst themselves of the strength and greatnesse of the Town: and when mens heads are once fly-blown with buzzes of suspicion, the vermine multiply instantly, and one jealousie begets another. Wherefore he railed them from their nest before they had hatch'd their fears, and to put away those conceits, he perswaded them it was day-dawning when the Moon rose, and instantly set on the Town, and wonne it being unwalled. In the Market-place the Spaniards saluted them with a volley of shot; Drake returned their greeting with a flight of arrows, the best and ancient English complement, which drave their enemies away. Here Drake received a dangerous wound, though he valiantly conceald it a long time, knowing if his heart stooped, his mens would fall, and loth to leave off the action, wherein if so bright an opportunity once setteth it seldome riseth again. But at length his men forced him to return to his ship, that his wound might be dreffed, and this unhappy accident defeated the whole deligne. Thus victory sometimes slips thorow their fingers, who have caught it in their hands.

But his valour would not let him give over the project as long as there was either life or warmth in it: And therefore having received intelligence from the Negroes, called Symerons, of many mules-lading of gold and filver, which was to be brought from Panama, he leaving competent numbers to man his ships, went on land with the rest, and bestowed himself in the woods by the way as they were to passe, and so intercepted and carried away an infinite

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masse of gold. As for the silver which was not portable over the mountains, they digged holes in the ground and hid it therein.

There want not those who love to beat down the price of every honourable action, though they themselves never mean to be chapmen. These cry up Drakes fortune herein to cry down his valour; as if this his performance were nothing, wherein a golden opportunity ran his head with his long forelock into Drakes hands beyond expectation. But certainly his resolution and unconquerable patience deserved much praise, to adventure, on such a designe, which had in it just no more probability then what was enough to keep it from being impossible: yet I admire not so much a all the treasure he took, as at the rich and deep mine of Gods providence.

Having now full fraughted himself with wealth, and burnt at the House of Crosses above two hundred thousand pounds worth of Spanish Merchandise, he returned with honour and safety into England, and some * years after undertook that his samous voyage about the world, most accurately described by our English Authours: and yet a

word or two thereof will not be amisse.

Setting forward from Plimouth, he bore up for Caboverd, where near to the Iland of S. Jago he took prisoner Nuno-da-Silva, an experienc'd Spanish pilot, whose direction he used in the coasts of Brasil and Magellan straits, and afterwards safely landed him at Guatulco in New Spain. Hence they took their course to the iland of Braya, and hereabouts they met with those tempestous winds, whose onely praise is, that they continue not an houre, in which time they change * all the points of the compasse. Here they had great plenty of rain, poured (not as in other places, as it were out of fives, but) as out of spouts, so that a but of water falls down in a place: which notwithstanding is but a courteous injury in that hot climate farre from land, and where otherwise fresh water cannot be provided: then cutting the Line, they saw the face of that heaven which earth

* 1577. Decemb. 13.

* Manusc.of Geor. Fortesc. who went the voyage with Sir Francis Drake. ole

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earth hideth from us, but therein onely three * starres of the first greatnesse, the rest few and small compared to our Hemisphere, as if God, on purpose, had set up the best and biggest candles in that room wherein his civilest guests are entertained.

* Camb.Elize Anno 1580.p. 323.

Sayling the South of Brasile, he afterwards passed the *Magellan straits, and then entred Mare pacificum, came to the Southermost land at the height of 55½ latitudes; thence directing his course Northward, he pillaged many Spanish Towns, and took rich prizes of high value in the kingdomes of Chily, Peru, and New Spain. Then bending Eastwards, he coasted China, and the Moluccoes, where by the King of Terrenate, a true Gentleman Pagan, he was most honourably entertain'd: The King told them, They and he were all of one religion in this respect, that they believed* not in Gods made of stocks and stones as did the Portugalls. He furnish'd them also with all necessaries that they wanted.

* August 20.

* Manuscri. Geor. Fortesc.

* 1579.

* Hacluits voyage,p.741. 3. vol.

they wanted. On the ninth of January following, his thip, having a large wind and a smooth sea, ran a ground on a dangerous shole, and strook twice on it; knocking twice at the doore of death, which no doubt had opened the third time. Here they * stuck from eight a clock at night till foure the next afternoon, having ground too much, and yet too little to land on, and water too much; and yet too little to fail in. Had God (who as the wifeman faith, Prov. 30. 4. holdeth the winds in his fist) but opened his little finger, and let out the smallest blast, they had undoubtedly been cast away; but there blew not any wind all the while. Then they conceiving aright that the best way to lighten the ship, was first to ease it of the burthen of their fins by true repentance, humbled themselves by fasting under the hand of God: Afterwards they received the Communion, dining on Christ in the Sacrament, expecting no other then to sup with him in heaven: Then they cast out of their ship six great pieces of or dinance, threw over-board as much wealth as would break the heart of a Miser to think on't, with much luger, and

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packs of spices, making a caudle of the sea round about: Then they betook themselves to their prayers, the best lever at such a dead lift indeed, and it pleased God that the wind, formerly their mortall enemy, became their friend, which changing from the Starboard to the Larboard of the ship, and rising by degrees, cleared them off to the sea again, for which they returned unseigned thanks to almighty God.

The Holy State.

* Novemb.3. 1580.

* Camb.Eliz. Anno ut priùs, pag. 127.

1585.

1595.

* Hacluits vojage, 3.vol. pag.583. By the Cape of good hope and west of Africa he returned safe into England, and landed at * Plimouth, (being almost the first of those that made a thorow-light through the world) having in his whole voyage, though a curious searcher after the time, lost one day through the variation of severall Climates. He seasted the Queen in his ship at Dart ford, who Knighted him for his service: yet it grieved him not a little, that some prime * Courtiers resused the gold he offered them, as gotten by piracy. Some of them would have been loth to have been told, that they had Aurum Those sauum in their own purses. Some think that they did it to shew that their envious pride was above their covetousnesse, who of set purpose did blur the fair copy of his performance, because they would not take pains to write after it.

I passe by his next * West Indian voyage, wherein he took the Cities of S. Jago, S. Domingo, Carthagena, and S. Augustine in Florida: as also his service performed in 88, wherein he with many others helped to the waining of that half Moon, which sought to govern all the motion of our Sea. I hast to his last Voyage.

Queen Elizabeth perceiving that the onely way to make the Spaniard a criple for ever, was to cut his Sinews of war in the West Indies, furnished Sr Francis Drake, & Sr John Haukins with six of her own ships, besides 21 ships and Barks of their own providing, containing in all 2500 Men and Boyes, for some service on America. But, alas, this voyage was marr'd before begun. For so great preparations being too big for a cover, the King of Spain knew of it, and sent a Caravall of adviso to the West Indies, so that they had intelligence * three

weeks before the Fleet fet forth of England, either to fortifie, or remove their treasure; whereas in other of Drakes Voyages not two of his own men knew whether he went; and managing fuch a defign is like carrying a Mine in War, if it hath any vent, all is spoiled. Besides, Drake and Hawkins being in joynt commission hindred each other. The later took himself to be inferiour rather in success then skill, and the action was unlike to prosper when neither would follow, and both could not handsomely go abreast. It vexed old Hawkins that his counsel was not followed, in present failing to America, but that they spent time in vain in assaulting the Canaries; and the grief that his advice was flighted (fay fome) was the cause of his death. Others impute it to the forrow he took for the taking of his Bark called the Francis, which five Spanish Frigots had intercepted: But when the same heart hath two mortal wounds given it together, 'tis hard to fay which of them killeth.

Drake continued his course for Port-Rico, and riding within the rode, a shot from the Castle entred the steerage of the ship, took away the stool from under him as he sate at Supper, wounded St Nicholas Clifford and Brute Brown to death. Ab dear * Brute (faid Drake) I could grieve for thee, but now is no time for me to let down my spirits. And indeed a Souldiers most proper bemoaning a friends death in war is in revenging it. And fure, as if grief had made the Eng
my dear and
morthy parifigure lately lish furious, they soon after fired five Spanish Ships of two ideceased.

hundred tunnes apiece, in despight of the Castle.

America is not unfitly resembled to an Hour-glas, which hath a narrow neck of land (suppose it the hole where the fand passeth) betwixt the parts thereof, Mexicana and Pervana. Now the English had a design to march by land over this Isthmus from Port-Rico to Panama, where the Spanish treasure was laid up. St Thomas Baskervile, General of the land-forces, undertook the service with seven hundred and fifty armed men. They marched through deep wayes, the Spaniards much annoying them with shot out of the woods. One fort in the passage they assaulted in

* From the Drake Esquire there present,

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vain, and heard two others were built to stop them, besides Panama it self. They had so much of this breakfast, they thought they should surfeit of a dinner and supper of the same. No hope of conquest, except with cloying the jaws of Death, and thrusting men on the mouth of the Canon. Wherefore searing to find the Proverb true, That God may be bought too dear, they returned to their ships. Drake asterwards fired Nombre de Dios, and many other petty Towns (whose treasure the Spaniards had conveyed away) burning the empty casks, when their precious liquor was run out before, and then prepared for their returning home.

Great was the difference betwixt the Indian Cities now from what they were when Drake first haunted those coasts: At first the Spaniards here were safe and secure, counting their treasure sufficient to defend it self, the remoteness thereof being the greatest (almost onely) resistance, and the setching of it more then the fighting for it. Whilest the King of Spain guarded the head and heart of his dominions in Europe, he lest his long legs in America open to blows; till sinding them to smart, being beaten black and blew by the English, he learned to arm them at last, fortifying the most important of them to make them impregnable.

Now began Sir Francis his discontent to feed upon him. He conceived that expectation, a merciless usurer, computing each day since his departure, exacted an interest and return of honour and profit proportionable to his great preparations, and transcending his former atchievements. He saw that all the good which he had done in this voyage, consisted in the evil he had done to the Spaniards afar off, whereof he could present but small visible fruits in England. These apprehensions accompanying if not causing the disease of the flux wrought his sudden "death. And sickness did not so much untie his clothes, as sorrow did rend at once the robe of his mortality asunder. He lived by the fea, died on it, and was buried in it. Thus an extempore performance (scarce heard to be begun before we hear it is ended)

* Ianuary 28.

ended) comes off with better applause, or miscarries with lesse dilgrace, then a long studied and openly premeditated action. Besides, we see how great spirits, having mounted to the highest pitch of performance, afterwards strain and break their credits in striving to go beyond it. Lastly, God oftentimes leaves the brightest men in an eclipse, to shew that they do but borrow their lustre from his reflection. We will not justifie all the actions of any man, though of a tamer profession then a Sea-Captain, in whom civility is often counted precisenesse. For the main, we say that this our Captain was a religious man towards God and his houses (generally sparing Churches where he came) chast in his life, just in his dealings, true of his word, and mercifull to those that were under him, hating nothing so much as idlenesse: And therefore lest his soul should rust in peace, at spare houres he brought fresh water to Plimouth, Carefull he was for posterity (though men of his profession have as well an ebbe of rior, as a flote of fortune) and providently raised a worshipfull Family of his kinred. In a word, should those that speak against him fast till they fetch their bread where he did his, they would have a good stomach to eat it.

Снар. 23.

The good Herald.

He is a Warden of the temple of Honour. Mutuall necessity made mortall enemies agree in these Officers; the lungs of Mars himself would be burnt to pieces having no respiration in a truce. Heralds therefore were invented to proclaim peace or warre, deliver messages about summons of forts, ransoming of captives, burying the dead and the like.

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*Sr.Hen.Spelsman Glossar. de verbo Herald.

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excellently import their virtues in discharging their Office: One was called Asphalio, such an one as made sure work; another Eurybates, cuming and subtle; a third Theotes, from his piety and godlinesse; a fourth Stentor, from his loud and audible pronouncing of messages. Therefore of every Heathen sacrifice the *tongue was cut out, and given to the Heralds, to shew that liberty of speech in all places was allowed them.

He imbitters not a distastfull message to a forrein Prince by his indiscretion in delivering it. Commendable was the gravity of Guien King of arms in France, and Thomas Bevolt Clarenceaux of England, sent by their severall Princes to defie Charles the Emperour. For leave demanded and obtained to deliver the message with safe conduct to their persons. they delivered the Emperour the lie in writing, and defying him were sent home safe with rewards. It fared worse with a foolish French Herald, sent from the Count of Orgellto challenge combat with the Count of Cardonna, Admiral of Arragon, where instead of wearing his Coat of Armsth Herald was attired in a long linen garment, painted with some dishonest actions, imputed to the said Count of Cardonna. But Ferdinand King of Arragon caused the Herald to be whipt naked through the streets * of Barcelona, asa punishment of his presumption. Thus his indiscretion remitted him to the nature of an ordinary person, his Armour of proof of publick credence fell off, and he left naked to the stroke of justice, no longer a publick Officer, but a private offender. Passe we now from his use in warre to his imployment in Peace.

*Span.Hift.in the life of Ferdinand.

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He is skilfull in the pedigrees and descents of all ancient Gentry. Otherwise, to be able onely to blazon a Coat doth no more make an Herald, then the reading the titles of Gally-pots makes a Physician. Bring our Herald to a Monument, ubi jacet epitaphium, and where the Arms on the Tombe are not onely crest-fallen, but their colours scarce to be discerned, and he will tell whose they be, if any certainty therein can be rescued from the teeth of Time. But how shamefull was

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the ignorance of the French * Heralds some fourty years since, who at a solemn entertainment of Queen Mary of Florence, wife to King Henrie the fourth, did falsly devise and blazon both the Arms of Florence, and the Arms of the Daulphin of France, now King thereof.

He carefully preserveth the memories of extinguish'd Families, of such Zelophehads, who dying lest onely daughters. He is more faithfull to many ancient Gentlemen then their own Heirs were, who sold their lands, and with them (as much as in them lay) their memories, which our Herald careful-

ly treasureth up.

Herestoreth many to their own rightfull Arms. An Heir is a Phenix in a familie, there can be but one of them at the same time. Hence comes it often to passe, that younger brothers of gentile families live in low wayes, clouded often amongst the Yeomanry; and yet those under-boughs grow from the same root with the top-branches. It may happen afterwards that by industry they may advance themselves to their former lustre; and good reason they should recover their ancient ensignes of honour belonging unto them: For the river Anas in Spain, though running many miles under ground when it comes up again is still the same river which it was before. And yet

He curbs their Usurpation who unjustly entitle themselves to ancient Houses. Hierophilus a*Ferrier in Rome pretended himself to be nephew to C. Marius, who had seven times been. Consul, and carried it in so high a strain that many believed him, and some companies in Rome accepted him for their Patron. Such want not amongst us, who in spight of the stock will engraff themselves into noble blouds, and thence derive their pedegree. Hence they new mould their names, taking from them, adding to them, melting out all the liquid letters, torturing mutes to make them speak, and making vowels dumbe to bring it to a fallacious Homonomy at the last, that their names may be the same with those noble Houses they pretend to. By this trick (to forbear dangerous instances, if affinity of sound makes kinred) Lutu-

*Andr. Favin (a Parifian Advocate) in his Theatre of Honour, book 1. chap. 4. pag. 35.

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* Valer.Max. lib.9.cap. 16.

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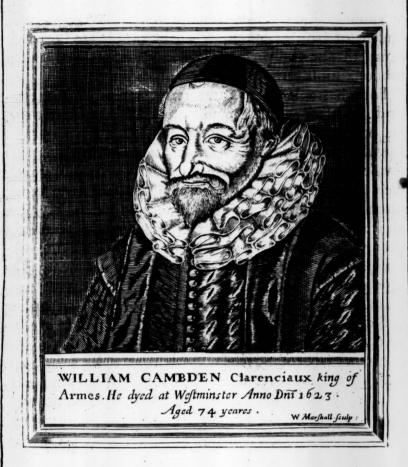
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lentus makes himself kinne to Luculentus, dirt to light, and Angustus to Augustus, some narrow-hearted Peasant, to some large-spirited Prince, except our good Herald marre their mart, and discover their forgery. For well he knows where indeed the names are the same (though alter'd through variety of writing in severall ages, and disguised by the lisping of vulgar people, who miscall hard French Sirnames) and where the equivocation is untruly affected.

He assignes honourable Arms to such as raise themselves by deserts. In all ages their must be as well a beginning of new Gentry, as an ending of ancient. And let not Linea, when farre extended in length, grow so proud as to scorn the first Punctum which gave it the original. Our Herald knows also to cure the surfet of Coats, and unsurcharge them, and how to wash out stained colours, when the merits of Posterity have outworn the disgraces of their Ancestours.

He will not for any profit favour wealthy unworthinesse. If a rich Clown (who deserves that all his shield should be the Base point) shall repair to the Herald-office, as to a drapers shop, wherein any Coat may be bought for money, he quickly finds himself deceived. No doubt if our Herald gives him a Coat, he gives him also a badge with it.

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CHAP. 24 The Life of M' VV. CAMBDEN.

Illiam Cambden was born Anno 1550 in old Baily, in the City of London. His Father, Sampson Cambden, was descended of honest parentage in Staffordshire; but by his Mothers side he was extracted from the worshipfull family of the * Curwens in Cumberland.

He was brought up first in Christ-Church, then in Pauls in Cumber.
*Ex Parenta-School in London, and at fifteen years of age went to Magdalen Colledge in Oxford, and thence to * Broadgates Hall,

* A quibus nobis (ablit invidia) genus maternum, tione Degorii

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where he first made those short Latine Graces, which the Servitours still use. From hence he was removed, and made student of Christ Church, where he profited to such eminency, that he was preferred to be Master of Westminster

School, a most famous seminarie of learning.

For whereas before, of the two grand Schools of England, one sent all her Foundation-scholars to Cambridge, the other all to Oxford, the good Queen (as the Head equally favouring both Breasts of Learning and Religion) divided her Scholars here betwixt both Universities, which were enriched with many hopefull plants sent from hence, through Cambdens learning, diligence, and clemency. Sure none need pity the beating of that Scholar who would not learn without it under so meek a Master.

His deferts call'd him hence to higher employments. The Queen first made him Richmond Herald, and then Clarenceaux King of Arms. We reade how Dionysius si st King of Sicily turn'd afterwards a Schoolmaster in his old age. Behold here Dionysius inverted, one that was a Schoolmaster in his youth become a King (of Armes) in his riper years, which place none ever did or shall discharge with more integrity. He was a most exact Antiquary, witnesse his worthy work, which is a comment on three Kingdomes; and never was so large a text more briefly, so dark a text more plainly expounded. Yea what a fair garment hath been made out of the very shreds and Remains of that greater Work.

It is most worthy observation with what diligence he inquired after ancient places, making Hue and Crie after many a City which was run away, and by certain marks and tokens pursuing to find it; as by the situation on the *Romane high wayes, by just distance from other ancient cities, by some affinity of name, by tradition of the inhabitants, by Romane coyns digged up, and by some appearance of ruines. A broken urn is a whole evidence, or an old gate still surviving, out of which the city is run out. Besides, commonly some new spruce town, not farre off, is grown out of the ashes thereof, which yet hath so much naturall affection,

* Watlin Eftreet

fection, as dutifully to own those reverend ruines for her Mother.

By these and other means he arrived at admirable knowledge, and restored Britain to her self. And let none tax him for presumption in conjectures where the matter was doubtfull; for many probable conjectures have stricken the fire, out of which Truths candle hath been lighted afterwards. Besides, conjectures, like parcells of unknown ore, are sold but at low rates; if they prove some rich metall, the buyer is a great gainer; if base, no looser, for he payes for it accordingly.

His candour and sweet temper was highly to be commended, gratefully acknowledging those by whom he was assisted in the work (in such a case confession puts the difference betwixt stealing and borrowing) and surely so heavy a log needed more levers then one. He honourably mentioneth such as differ from him in opinion; not like those Antiquaries, who are so snarling one had as good diffent a

mile as an hairs breadth from them.

Most of the English ancient Nobility and Gentry he hath unpartially observed. Some indeed object that he*claws and flatters the Grandees of his own age, extolling some samilies rather great then ancient, making them to flow from a farre fountain because they had a great channell, especially if his private friends. But this cavil hath more of malice then truth: indeed 'tis pity he should have a tongue, that hath not a word for a friend on just occasion; and justly might the stream of his commendations run broader, where meeting with a confluence of desert and friendship in the same party. For the main, his pen is sincere and unpartiall, and they who complain that Grantham steeple stands awry will not set a straiter by it.

Some say that in silencing many gentile samilies, he makes baulks of as good ground as any he ploweth up. But these again acquit him, when they consider that it is not onely difficult but impossible to anatomize the English Gentry so exactly, as to show where every smallest vein thereof

* Hugh Holland in the life of the Earl of Leicester.

runnes.

runnes. Besides, many Houses, conceived to be by him omitted, are rather rightly placed by him, not where they live, but whence they came. Lastly, we may perceive that he prepared another work on purpose for the English Gentry.

I say nothing of his learned Annalls of Queen Elizabeth, industriously performed, His very enemies (if any) cannot but commend him. Sure he was as farre from loving *Popery, as from hating Learning, though that aspersion be generall on antiquaries; as if they could not honour hoary hairs, but presently themselves must doat.

His liberality to Learning is fufficiently witnessed in his Founding of an History-Professour in Oxford, to which he gave the mannour of Bexly in Kent, worth in present a hundred and fourty pounds, but (some years expired) foure hundred pounds per Annum, so that he merited that distich,

Est tibi pro tumulo, Cambdene, Britannia tota, Oxonium vivens est Epigramma tibi.

The Military part of his office he had no need to imploy, passing it most under a peaceable Prince. But now having lived many years in honour and esteem, death at last, even contrarie to *fus Gentium*, kill'd this worthy Herald, so that it seems, Mortality, the Law of Nature, is above the Law of Arms. He died *Anno* 1623. the ninth of November, in the seventie fourth yeare of his age.

CHAP. 25.

The true Gentleman.

WE will confider him in his Birth, Breeding, and Behaviour.

He is extracted from ancient and worshipfull parentage. When a Pepin is planted on a Pepin-stock, the fruit growing thence is called a * Renate, a most delicious apple, as both by Sire and Damme well descended. Thus his bloud must needs be well purified who is gentilely born on both sides.

folius meritis & fatisfactione fpem omnem falutis meæ femper niti profiteor.

* These words he wrote in

the beginning of his Testa-

ment , Christi

Maxime I

* Draitons
Polio-Albion,
p.298.

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If his birth be not, at least his qualities are generous. What if he cannot with the Hevenninghams of Suffolk count * five and twenty Knights of his familie, or tell * fixteen Knights successively with the Tilneys of Norfolk, or with the Nauntons shew where their Ancestours had * seven hundred pound a yeare before or at the conquest; yet he hath endeayoured by his own deferts to ennoble himself. Thus valour makes him sonne to Cæsar, Learning entitles him kinsman to Tully, and Piety reports him nephew to godly Constantine. It graceth a Gentleman of low descent and high defert, when he will own the meannesse of his parentage. How ridiculous is it when many men brag, that their families are more ancient then the Moon, which all know are later then the starre which some seventy years since shined in Cassiopea. But if he be generously born, see how his parents breed him.

He is not in his youth possess with the great hopes of his possession. No flatterer reads constantly in his ears a survey of the lands he is to inherit. This hath made many boyes thoughts swell so great they could never be kept in compasse afterwards. Onely his Parents acquaint him that he is the next undoubted Heir to correction, if misbehaving himself; and he finds no more favour from his Schoolmaster then his Schoolmaster finds diligence in him, whose rod respects persons no more then bullets are partiall in a battel.

At the University he is so studious as if he intended Learning for his profession. He knows well that cunning is no burthen to carry, as paying neither portage by land, nor poundage by sea. Yea though to have land be a good First, yet to have learning is the surest Second, which may stand to it when the other may chance to be taken away.

At the Innes of Court he applyes himself to learn the Laws of the kingdome. Object not, Why should a Gentleman learn law, who if he needeth it may have it for his money, and if he hath never so much of his own, he must but give it away. For what a shame is it for a man of quality to be ignorant of Solon in our Athens, of Lycurgus in our Sparta? Be-

* Weavers fun. mon. pag.

*Idem p.818.

*Idem p.758.

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fides,

sides, law will help him to keep his own, and besteed his neighbours. Say not, that there be enough which make this their set practice: for so there are also many masters of defence by their profession; and shall private men therefore learn no skill at their weapons.

As for the Hospitality, the Apparrell, the Travelling, the Companie, the Recreations, the Marriage of Gentlemen, they are described in severall Chapters in the following Book. A word or two of his behaviour in the countrey.

He is courteous and affable to his neighbours. As the sword of the best tempered mettall is most flexible; so the truly generous are most pliant and courteous in their behaviour to their inferiours.

He delights to see himself, and his servants well mounted: therefore he loveth good Horsemanship. Let never any forrein Rabshakeh send that brave to our Jerusalem, offering to lend her * two thousand horses, if she be able for her part to set riders upon them. We know how Darious got the Persian Empire from the rest of his fellow Peeres, by the first neighing of his generous steed. It were no harmis in some needlesse suits of intricate precedencie betwixt equals Gentlemen, the priority were adjudged to him who keeps a stable of most serviceable horses.

He furnisheth and prepareth himself in peace against time of warre. Lest it be too late to learn when his skill is to be used. He approves himself couragious when brought to the triall, as well remembring the custome which is used at the Creation of Knights of the Bath, wherein the Kings Master-Cook * cometh forth, and presenteth his great knife to the new-made Knights, admonishing them to be faithfull and valiant, otherwise he threatens them that that very knife is prepared to cut off their spurres.

If the Commission of the Peace finds him out, he faithfully discharges it. I say, Finds him out; for a publick Office is a guest which receives the best usage from them who never invited it. And though he declined the Place, the countrey knew to prize his worth, who would be ignorant of his

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* 2.Kings 18.

* Mr Selden in his titles of Honour, pag. 820.

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THE THIRD BOOK.

Containing Generall Rules.

CHAP. I.

Of Hospitality.



Ospitality is threefold: for ones samilie; this is of Necessity: for strangers; this is Courtesie: for the poore; this is Charity. Of the two latter.

To keep a diforderly house is the way to keep neither house nor lands. For whilest they keep

the greatest roaring, their state steals away in the greatest silence. Yet when many consume themselves with secret vices, then Hospitality bears the blame: whereas it is not the Meat but the Sauce, not the Supper but the Gaming after it, doth undoe them.

Measure not thy entertainment of a guest by his estate, but thine own. Because he is a Lord, forget not that thou art but a Gentleman: otherwise if with seasting him thou breakest thy self, he will not cure thy rupture, and (perchance) rather deride then pitie thee.

When provision (as we say) groweth on the same, it is miraculously multiplied. In Northamptonshire all the rivers of the County are bred in it, besides those (Ouse and Charwell) it lendeth and sendeth into other shires: So the good House-keeper hath a sountain of wheat in his field, mutton in his

Maxime 1

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fold, &c. both to serve himself, and supply others. The expence of a feast will but breath him, which will tire another of the same estate who buyes all by the penny.

Mean mens palates are best pleased with fare rather plentifull then various, solid then dainty. Dainties will cost more, and content lesse, to those that are not Criticall enough to distinguish them.

Occasionall entertainment of men greater then thy self is better then solemn inviting them. Then short warning is thy large excuse: whereas otherwise, if thou dost not overdothy estate, thou shalt underdo his expectation, for thy feast will be but his ordinary fare. A King of France was often pleafed in his hunting wilfully to lose himself, to find the house of a private Park-keeper; where going from the School of State-affairs, he was pleased to make a play-day to himself. He brought fauce (Hunger) with him, which made course meat dainties to his palate. At last the Park-keeper took heart, and solemnely invited the King to his house, who came with all his Court, fo that all the mans meat was not a morfell for them: Well (said the Park-keeper) I will invite no more Kings; having learnt the difference between Princes when they please to put on the visard of privacie, and when they will appear like themselves, both in their Person and Attendants.

Those are ripe for charitie which are withered by age or impotencie. Especially if maimed in following their calling; for such are Industries Martyrs, at least her Confessours. Adde to these those that with diligence fight against poverty, though neither conquer till death make it a drawn battel. Expect not, but prevent their craving of thee; for God forbid the heavens should never rain till the earth first opens her mouth, seing some grounds will some burn then chap.

The House of correction is the fittest Hospital for those Cripples, whose legs are lame through their own lazinesse. Surely King Edward the sixth was as truly charitable in granting Bridewell for the punishment of sturdy Rogues, as in giving S. Thomas Hospitall for the relief of the Poore. I have done with

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which * one saith since the yeare 1572 hath in a manner been laid asseep in the grave of Edward Earl of Darby.

*Cambd.Elif. Anno 1573.

CHAP. 2.

Of Festing.

H Armlesse mirth is the best cordiall against the consumption of the spirits: wherefore Jesting is not unlawfull if it trespasseth not in Quantity, Quality, or Season. It is good to make a Fest, but not to make a trade of Jesting. The

Earl of Leicester, knowing that Queen Elizabeth was much delighted to see a Gentleman dance well, brought the Masser of a dancing-school to dance before her: Pish (said the Queen) it is his profession, I will not see him. She liked it not where it was a Master-quality, but where it attended on other persections. The same may we say of Jesting.

Jest not with the two-edged* sword of Gods Word. Will nothing please thee to wash thy hands in, but the Font? or to drink healths in, but the Church Chalice? And know the whole art is learnt at the first admission, & profane Jests will come without ealling. If in the troublesome dayes of King Edward the fourth a Citizen in Cheap-side was executed as a traitour, for saying he would make his sonne heir to the *Crown, though he onely meant his own house, having a Crown for the signe; more dangerous it is to wit-wanton it with the Majestie of God. Wherefore if without thine intention, and against thy will, by chancemedly thou hittest Scripture in ordinary discourse, yet sly to the city of refuge, and pray to God to forgive thee.

Wanton Jests make fools laugh, and wife men frown. Seeing we are civilized English men, let us not be naked Salvages in our talk. Such rotten speeches are worst in withered age, when men runne after that sinne in their words which slieth from them in the deed.

Maximel

* Mazaugar Nsopor, Heb.

* Speed in Edward the 4.

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Let not thy fests like mummie be made of dead mens flesh. Abuse not any that are departed; for to wrong their memories is to robbe their ghosts of their windingsheets.

Scoff not at the naturall defects of any which are not in their power to amend. Oh'tis crueltie to beat a cripple with his own crutches. Neither flout any for his profession if honest though poore and painfull. Mock not a Cobler for his black thumbes.

He that relates another mans wicked Fest with delight, adopts it to be his own. Purge them therefore from their poyson. If the prophanenesse may be sever'd from the wit, it is like a Lamprey, take out the string in the back, it may make good meat: But if the staple conceit consists in prophanenesse, then it is a viper, all poyson, and meddle not with it.

He that will lose his friend for a Fest deserves to die a begger by the bargain. Yet some think their conceits, like mustard, not good except they bite. We reade that all those who were born in England, the yeare after the beginning of the great mortality *1349. wanted their foure Cheeck-teeth. Such let thy Jests be, that they may not grind the credit of thy friend, and make not Jests so long till thou becomest one.

No time to break Jests when the heart-strings are about to be broken. No more shewing of wit when the head is to be cut off. Like that dying man, who, when the Priest coming to him to give him extreme unction, asked of him where his seet were, answered, at the end of my legs. But at such a time Jests are an unmannerly crepitus ingenii: And let those take heed who end here with Democritus, that they begin not with Heraclitus hereafter.

CHAP. 3. Of Self-praysing.

He whose own worth doth speak need not speak his own worth. Such boasting sounds proceed from emptinesse of desert: whereas the Conquerours in the Olympian games

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* Tho. Walfingam in eodem anno.

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who never came near the walls thereof, lying on those with whom they did never lie, and with flanderous tongues committing rapes on chafte womens reputations. Others (who would sooner creep into a scabbard then draw a fword) boaft of their robberies, to usurp the efteem of valour: Whereas first let them be well whipt for their lying, and as they like that, let them come afterward and entitle themselves to the gallows.

Снар. 4.

Of Travelling.

Tis a good accomplishment to a man, if first the stock I be well grown whereon Travell is graffed, and these rules observed Before, In, and After his going abroad.

Travell not early before thy judgement be rifen; left thou observest rather shews then substance, marking alone Pageants.

Pictures, beautifull Buildings, &c.

Get the Language (in part) without which key thou shalt unlock little of moment. It is a great advantage to be ones own interpreter. Object not that the French tongue learnt in England must be unlearnt again in France; for it is easier to adde then

begin, and to pronounce then to speak.

Be well settled in thine own Religion, lest, travelling out of England into Spain, thou goest out of Gods blessing into the warm Sunne, They that go over maids for their Religion, will be ravished at the fight of the first Popish Church they enter into. But if first thou be well grounded, their fooleries shall rivet thy faith the faster, and Travell shall give thee Confirmation in that Baptisme thou didst receive at home.

Know most of the rooms of thy native countrey before thou goest over the threshold thereof. Especially seeing England presents thee with so many observables. But late Writers lack nothing but age, and home-wonders but distance to make them admired. 'Tis a tale what * Josephus writes of the two

lib. 1. cap. 3.

Maxime 1

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*Antiqu.Jud.

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pillars set up by the sonnes of Seth in Syria, the one of brick, fire-proof; the other of stone, water-free, thereon engraving many heavenly matters to perpetuate learning in defiance of time. But it is truly moralized in our Universities, Cambridge (of Brick) and Oxford (of Stone) wherein Learning and Religion are preserved, and where the worst Colledge is more sight-worthy then the best Dutch Gymnasium. First view these, and the rest home-rarities; not like those English, that can give a better account of Fountain-bleau then Hampton-Court, of the Spaw then Bath, of Anas in Spain then Mole in Surrey.

that he was but nine dayes in Italie, wherein he saw in one citie (Venice) more liberty to sinne, then in London he ever heard of in nine years. That some of our Gentry have gone thither, and returned thence without insection, I more

praise Gods providence then their adventure.

To travell from the summe is uncomfortable. Yet the northern parts with much ice have some crystall, and want not their markables.

If thou wilt see much in a little, travell the Low countreys. Holland is all Europe in an Amsterdam-print, for Minerva, Mars, and Mercurie, Learning, Warre, and Traffick.

Be wife in choosing Objects, diligent in marking, carefull in remembring of them: yet herein men much follow their own humours. One askt a Barber, who never before had been at the Court, what he saw there? Oh (said he) the King was excellently well trimm'd! Thus Merchants most mark fortein Havens, Exchanges, and Marts, Souldiers note Forts, Armonies, and Magazines, Scholars listen after Libraries, Disputions, and Professours, Statesmen observe Courts of justice, Counsells, &c. Every one is partiall in his own profession.

Labour to distill and unite into thy self the scatterd perfections of severall Nations. But (as it was said of one, who with more industry then judgement frequented a Colledge-Library, and commonly made use of the worst notes he met with in any Authours, that he needed the Library) many weed forrein

*in his preface to his Schoolmaster.

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forrein Countries, bringing home Dutch Drunkennesse, Spanish Pride, French Wantonnesse and Italian Atheisme. As for the good herbs, Dutch Industry, Spanish Loyalty, French Courtesse, and Italian Frugality, these they leave behind them. Others bring home just nothing; and because they singled not themselves from their Countreymen, though some years beyond Sea, were never out of England.

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Continue correspondency with some choice forrein friend after thy return. As some Professour or Secretary, who virtually is the whole University, or State. Tis but a dull Dutch sashion, their Albus Amicorum, to make a dictionary of their friends names: But a selected familiar in every Countrey is usefull, betwixt you there may be a Letter-exchange. Be sure to return as good wares as thou receivest, and acquaint him with the remarkables of thy own Countrey, and he will willingly continue the trade, finding it equally gainfull.

II

Let discourse rather be easily drawn, then willingly flow from the. That thou mayest not seem weak to hold, or desirous to vent news, but content to gratise thy friends. Be sparing in reporting improbable truths, especially to the vulgar, who insteed of informing their judgements will suspect thy credit. Disdain their pievish pride who rail on their native land (whose worst fault is that it bred such ungrateful fools) and in all their discourses preferre forrein countreys, herein shewing themselves of kinne to the wild Irish in leving their Nurses better then their Mothers.

CHAP. 5. Of Company.

Maximel

Ompanie is one of the greatest pleasures of the nature of man. For the beams of joy are made hotter by reflection, when related to another; and otherwise gladnesse it self must grieve for want of one to expresse itself to.

It is unnaturall for a man to court and hug solitarinesse. It is obferved ffe,

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ferved, that the furthest Ilands in the world are so seated that there is none so remote but that from some shore of it another Iland or Continent may be discerned: As if hereby Nature invited countreys to a mutuall commerce one with another. Why then should any man affect to environ himself with so deep and great reservednesse, as not to communicate with the societie of others? And though we pity those who made solitarinesse their resuge in time of persecution, we must condemne such as chuse it in the Churches prosperity. For well may we count him not well in his wits, who will live alwayes under a bush, because others in a storm shelter themselves under it.

Tet a desert is better then a debauch'd companion. For the wildnesse of the place is but uncheerfull, whilest the wildnesse of bad persons is also infectious. Better therefore ride alone then have a thiess company. And such is a wicked man, who will rob thee of pretious time, if he doth no more mischief. The Nazarites who might drink no wine were also forbidden (Numb. 6.3.) to eat grapes, whereof wine is made. We must not onely avoid sinne it self, but also the causes and occasions thereof: amongst which bad company (the limetwigs of the devil) is the chiefest, especially, to catch those natures which like the good-fellow planet Mercurie are most swayed by others.

If thou beest cast into bad company, like Hercules, thou must sleep with thy club in thine hand, and stand on thy guard. I mean if against thy will the tempest of an unexpected occasion drives thee amongst such rocks, then be thou like the river * Dee in Merionethshire in Wales, which running through Pimble meer remains entire, and mingles not her streams with the waters of the lake. Though with them, be not of them, keep civil communion with them, but separate from their sinnes. And if against thy will thou sall'st amongst wicked men, know to thy comfort thou art still in thy calling, and therefore in Gods keeping, who on thy prayers will preserve thee.

The company be keeps is the comment by help.

The company he keeps is the comment, by help whereof men ex-

*Cambd.Brit.
in Merioneth.

pound the most close and mysticall man; understanding him for one of the same religion, life, and manners with his associates. And though perchance he be not such an one, it just he should be counted so for conversing with them. Augustus Cæsar came thus to discern his two daughters inclinations: for being once at a publick Shew, where much people was present, he observed that the grave Senatours talked with Livia, but loose Youngsters and riotus persons with Julia.

He that eats cherries with Noblemen shall have his eyes spirted

out with the stones. This outlandish Proverb hath in it an English truth, that they who constantly converse with men farre above their estates shall reap shame and losse thereby: If thou payest nothing, they will count thee a sucker, no

* Sucton in August. Cas.

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branch; a wen, no member of their companie: If in payments thou keepest pace with them, their long strides will soon tire thy short legs. The Bevers in New England, when some ten of them together draw a stick to the building of their lodging, set the * weakest Bevers to the lighter end of the log, and the strongest take the heaviest part thereof: whereas men often lay the greatest burthen on the weakest back; and great persons, to teach meaner men to learn their

them his time and discourse.

* Wood in his description of New England.

To affect alwayes to be the best of the companie argues a base disposition. Gold alwayes worn in the same purse with silver loses both of the colour and weight; and so to converse alwayes with inferiours degrades a man of his worth. Such there are that love to be the Lords of the companie, whilest the rest must be their Tenants: as if bound by their lease to approve, praise, and admire, whatsoever they say. These knowing the lownesse of their parts love to live with dwarfs, that they may seem proper men. To come amongst their equals, they count it an abridgement of their free-

distance, take pleasure to make them pay for their companie. I except such men, who having some excellent qualitie are gratis very welcome to their betters; such a one, though he payes not a penny of the shot, spends enough in lending

dome,

dome, but to be with their betters, they deem it flat flavery.

It is excellent for one to have a Library of Scholars, especially if they be plain to be read. I mean of a communicative nature, whose discourses are as full as fluent, and their judgements as right as their tongues ready: such mens talk shall be thy Lectures. To conclude, Good company is not onely profitable whilest a man lives, but sometimes when he is dead. For he that was buried with the bones of * Elisha, by a Posthumous miracle of that Prophet, recovered his life by lodging with such a grave-sellow.

*2. Kings 13.

CHAP. 6.

Of Apparell.

CLothes are for Necessity; warm clothes for Health; cleanly for Decency; lasting for Thrist; and rich for Magnisicence. Now there may be a fault in their Number, it too various; Making, if too vain; Matter, if too costly; and Mind of the wearer, if he takes pride therein. We come therefore to some generall directions.

It's a chargeable vanity to be constantly clothed above ones purse, or place. I say Constantly; for perchance sometimes it may be dispensed with. A Great man, who himself was very plain in apparell, checkt a Gentleman for being over fine: who modestly answered, Your Lordship bath better clothes at home, and I have worse. But sure no plea can be made when this Luxury is grown to be ordinary. It was an arrogant act of *Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, who, when King John had given his Courtiers rich Liveries, to Ape the Lion, gave his servants the like wherewith the King was not a little offended. But what shall we say to the riot of our age, wherein (as Peacocks are more gay then the Eagle himself) subjects are grown braver then their Sovereigne?

Tis beneath a wife man alwayes to wear clothes beneath men of his rank. True, there is a state sometimes in decent plainnesse. When a wealthy Lord at a great Solemnity had the plainest apparell.

Maxime 1

*Matth.Paris in Joan. Anno 1201. apparell, O (said one) if you had markt it well his sute had the richest pockets. Yet it argues no wisdome, in clothes alwayes to stoop beneath his condition. When Antisthenes saw Socrates in a torn coat, he shewed a hole thereof to the people; And loe (quoth he) through this I see Socrates his pride.

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He shews a light gravity who loves to be an exception from a general fashion. For the received custome in the place where we live is the most competent judge of decency; from which we must not appeal to our own opinion. When the French Courtiers mourning for their King * Henrie the second had worn cloth a whole yeare, all silks became so vile in every mans eyes, that if any was seen to wear them, he was presently accounted a Mechanick or Countrey-fellow.

*Mont.1.book, chap. 4.

It's a folly for one Proteus-like never to appear twice in one shape.

* Deuterono. 29.5. Had some of our Gallants been with the Israelites in the wildernesse, when for fourty years their clothes waxed not old, they would have been vexed, though their clothes were whole, to have been so long in one fashion. Yet here I must confesse, I understand not what is reported of Fulgentius, that he used the same garment Winter and Summer, and never alter'd his * clothes, etiam in Sacris peragendis.

* Vincentius. Spec. lib. 20. cap. 105.

He that is proud of the russing of his silks, like a mad man, laughs at the rating of his fetters. For indeed, Clothes ought to be our remembrancers of our lost innocency. Besides, why should any brag of what's but borrowed? Should the Estrige snatch off the Gallants feather, the Beaver his hat, the Goat his gloves, the Sheep his sute, the Silk-worm his stockings, and Neat his shoes (to strip him no farther then modesty will give leave) he would be lest in a cold condition. And yet 'tis more pardonable to be proud, even of cleanly rags, then (as many are) of affected slovennesse. The one is proud of a molehill, the other of a dunghill.

To conclude, Sumptuary laws in this land to reduce apparell to a fet standard of price, and fashion, according to the severall states of men, have long been wish'd, but are little to be hoped for. Some think private mens superfluity is a necessary evill in a State, the sloting of fashions affording a

standing

flanding maintenance to many thousands which otherwise would be at a losse for a livelihood, men maintaining more by their pride then by their charitie.

CHAP. 7.

Of Building.

He that alters an old house is tied as a translatour to the originall, and is confin'd to the phancie of the first builder. Such a man were unwise to pluck down good old building, to erect (perchance) worse new. But those that raise a new house from the ground are blame-worthy if they make it not handsome, seeing to them Method and Confusion are both at a rate. In building we must respect Situation, Contrivance, Receipt, Strength, and Beauty. Of Situation.

Chiefly choose a pholesome aire. For aire is a dish one seeds on every minute, and therefore it need be good. Wherefore great men (who may build where they please, as poore men where they can) if herein they preferre their profit above their health, I referre them to their Physicians to make them pay for it accordingly.

Wood and water are two staple commodities where they may be had. The former I confesse hath made so much iron, that it must now be bought with the more silver, and grows daily dearer. But its as well pleasant as profitable to see a house cased with trees, like that of Anchises in Troy.

Anchisa domus arboribusq; obtesta recessit.

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The worst is, where a place is bald of wood, no art can make it a periwig. As for water, begin with Pindars beginning, approx 182 2821. The fort of * Gogmagog Hills nigh Cambridge is counted impregnable but for want of water, the mischief of many houses where servants must bring the well on their shoulders.

Maxime 1

* Virgil 2. Æneid. 32.

* Camb. Brit. in Cambridgeshire.

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Abouse had better be too little for a day then too great for a yeare. And it's easier borrowing of thy neighbour a brace of chambers for a night, then a bag of money for a twelvemonth. It is vain therefore to proportion the receipt to an extraordinary occasion, as those who by overbuilding their houses have dilapidated their lands, and their states have been pressed to death under the weight of their house. As for Strength,

Countrey-houses must be Substantives, able to stand of themselves.

Chap. 7.	Generall Rules.	157
Countrey-boufes m	rust be Substantives, able to stand of themselve	25. 8
Not like City-bui	ildings supported by their neighbours of	n
either side. By Sti	rength we mean such as may resist We	a-
ther and Time, no	ot Invasion, Castles being out of date i	n
	. As for the making of motes round abou	
it is questionable	whether the fogs be not more unhealth	1-
full, then the fish	brings profit, or the water defence. Beaut	ty
	s the last to be regarded, because houses a	re
made to be lived i	in not lookt on.	
Let not the Front l	look asquint on a stranger, but accost him right	at 9
bis entrance. Unifo	ormity also much pleaseth the eye; and 'ti	is
observed that free	e-stone, like a fair complexion, soone	ft
waxeth old, while	A brick keeps her beauty longest.	
Let the office-hou	ses observe the due distance from the mansion	1- 10
bouse. Those are to	oo familiar which prelume to be of th	e
	. The same may be said of stables an	
	which a house is like a city without work	s,
it can never hold o		
Gardens also are to	attend in their place. When God (Genefi	is II
	arden Eastward, he made to grow out o	
the ground every	tree pleasant to the fight, and good for	r
food. Sure he kn	new better what was proper to a garde	n
then those, who n	now adayes therein onely feed the eyes, and	d
starve both tast and	d fmell.	
	n Building rather believe any man ther	
	own art for matter of charges, not tha	
	vill not be faithfull. Should they tell the	
all the cost at the fi	irst, it would blast a young Builder in th	c
budding, and ther	refore they sooth thee up till it hath cos	t
thee something to	confute them. The spirit of Building first	t
possessed people af	fter the floud, which then caused the con	-
tulion of language	es, and fince of the estate of many a man.	
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CHAP. 8.

Of Anger.

Nger is one of the finews of the foul; he that wants A it hath a maimed mind, and with Jacob finewshrunk in the hollow of his thigh must needs halt. Nor is it good to converse with such as cannot be angry, and with the Caspian sea never ebbe nor flow. This Anger is either Heavenly, when one is offended for God: or Hellish, when offended with God and Goodnesse: or Earthly, in temporall matters. Which Earthly Anger (whereof we we treat) may also be Hellish, if for no cause, no great cause, too hot, or too long.

Be not angry with any without a cause. If thou beest, thou must not onely, as the Proverb saith, be appeared without amends (having neither cost nor damage given thee) but,

Maxime 1

* Matth. 5.22.

as our Saviour * faith, be in danger of the judgement. Be not mortally angry with any for a veniall fault. He will make a strange combustion in the state of his soul, who at the landing of every cockboat fets the beacons on fire. To be angry for every toy debases the worth of thy anger;

for he who will be angry for any thing, will be angry for nothing.

Let not thy anger be so hot, but that the most torrid zone thereof may be habitable. Fright not people from thy presence with the terrour of thy intolerable impatience. Some men like a tiled house are long before they take fire, but once on flame there is no coming near to quench them.

Take heed of doing irrevocable acts in thy passion. As the revealing of secrets, which makes thee a bankrupt for society ever after: neither do such things which done once are done for ever, so that no bemoaning can amend them. Sampsons hair grew again, but not his eyes: Time may restore some losses, others are never to be repaird. Wherefore in thy rage make no Persian decree which cannot be reverl'd reverl'd or repeald; but rather Polonian laws which (they say) last but three dayes: Do not in an instant what an age

cannot recompence.

Anger kept till the next morning, with * Manna, doth putrifie and corrupt. Save that Manna corrupted not at all, and anger most of all, kept the next Sabbath. S. Paul * saith, Let not the Sunne go down on your wrath; to carry news to the Antipodes in another world of thy revengefull nature. Yet let us take the Apostles meaning, rather then his words, with all possible speed to depose our passion, not understanding him so literally that we may take leave to be angry till Sunset: then might our wrath lengthen with the dayes; and men in Greenland, where day lasts above a quarter of a yeare, have plentifull scope of revenge. And as the English (by command from William the Conquerer) alwayes raked up their fire, and put out their candles, when the * Cursew-bell was rung; let us then also quench all sparks of anger and heat of passion.

He that keeps anger long in his bosome giveth place to the * devil. And why should we make room for him, who will crowd intoo fast of himself? Heat of passion makes our souls to chappe, and the devil creeps in at the cranies; yea a furious man in his fits may seem possess with a devil, somes, sumes, tears himself, is deaf, and dumbe in effect, to heare or speak reason: sometimes wallows, stares, stamps, with siery eyes and slaming cheeks. Had Narcissus himself seen his own face when he had been angry, he could never have

fallen in love with himself.

CHAP. 9.

Of Expeding Preferment.

There are as many severall tenures of Expectation as of Possession, some nearer, some more remote, some grounded on strong, others on weaker reasons. (As for a groundlesse Expectation, it is a wilfull self-delusion) We come

*Exod.16.24.
*Ephef.4.26.

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* Cowels Interpreter out of Stows Annals.

* Ephef.4.27.

Maximel

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to instructions how men should manage their hopes herein.

Hope not for impossibilities. For though the object of hope be Futurum possibile, yet some are so mad as to feed their Ex. pectation on things, though not in themselves, yet to them impossible, if we consider the weaknesse of the means whereby they seek to attain them. He needs to stand on tiptoes that hopes to touch the moon; and those who expect what in reason they cannot expect, may expect.

Carefully survey what proportion the means thou hast bear to the end thou expectest. Count not a Courtiers promise of course a specialty that he is bound to preferre thee : Seeing Complements oftentimes die in the speaking, why should thy hopes (grounded on them) live longer then the hearing? perchance the text of his promise intended but common courtefies, which thy apprehension expounds speedy and special favours. Others make up the weaknesse of their means with conceit of the strength of their deferts, foolishly think. ing that their own merits will be the undoubted Patrons to present them to all void Benefices.

The heir apparent to the next preferment may be disinherited by an unexpetted accident. A Gentleman, servant to the Lord Ad mirall Howard, was suiter to a Lady above his deserts, grounding the confidence of his successe on his relation to so honourable a Lord; which Lord gave the Anchor as badge of his office, and therefore this suiter wrote in a window,

If I be bold,

The anchor is my hold.

But his corrivall to the same Mistris coming into the lame room wrote under,

Yet fear the worst:

What if the Cable burst?

Thus uselesse is the Ancor of hope (good for nothing but to deceive those that relie on it) if the cable or small cords of means and causes whereon it depends fail and miscarry. Daily experience tenders too many examples. A Gentleman who gave a Basilisk for his Arms or Crest

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promised to make a young kinsman of his his heir, which kinsman to ingratiate himself painted a Basilisk in his study, and beneath it these verses,

Falleris asspectu Basiliscum occidere. Plini,

Nam vitæ nostræ spem Basiliscus alit.

The Basilisk's the onely stay,

My life preserving still;

Pliny, thou li'dst when thou didst say

The Basilisk doth kill.

But this rich Gentleman dying frustrated his expectation, and bequeathed all his estate to another, whereupon the Epigram was thus altered,

Certe aluit, sed spe vana, spes vana venenum:

Ignoscas, Plini, verus es Historicus.

Indeed vain hopes to me he gave,

Whence I my poison drew:

Pliny, thy pardon now I crave,

Thy writings are too true.

Proportion thy expences to what thou hast in possession, not to thy expectancies. Otherwise he that seeds on wind must needs be griped with the Collick at last. And if the Ceremonial law forbad the Jews to seeth a kid in the mothers milk, the law of good husbandry forbids us to eat a kid in the mothers belly, spending our pregnant hopes before they be delivered.

Inbrue not thy foul in bloudy wishes of his death who parts thee and thy preferment. A murther the more common, because one cannot be arraigned for it on earth. But those are charitable murtherers which wish them in heaven, not so much that they may have ease at their journeys end, but because they must needs take death in the way.

In earthly matters expectation takes up more joy on trust, then the fruition of the thing is able to discharge. The Lion is not so fierce as painted; nor are matters so tair as the pencill of the expectant limmes them out in his hopes. They forecount their wives fair, fruitfull, and rich, without any fault; their children witty, beautifull, & dutifull, without any frowardnesse:

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and as S. Basil held that roses in paradise before mans fall grew without prickles, they abstract the pleasures of things from the troubles annexed to them, which when they come to enjoy, they must take both together. Surely a good unlook'd for is a virgin happinesse; whereas those who obtain what long they have gazed on in expectation, onely marry what themselves have defloured before.

* Godwin in his Catal. of Archbishops of York. When our hopes break let our patience hold: relying on Gods providence without murmuring, who often provides for men above what we can think or desire. When Robert * Holgate could not peaceably enjoy his small living in Lincolneshire, because of the litigiousnesse of a neighbouring Knight, coming to London to right himself he came into the favour of King Henrie the eighth, and got by degrees the Archbishoprick of York. Thus God sometimes defeats our hopes, or disturbs our possession of lesser favours, thereby to bestow on his servants better blessings, if not here, hereafter.

CHAP. 10.

Of Memory.

* Metaphys. lib. 1. cap. 1. I T is the treasure-house of the mind, wherein the monuments thereof are kept and preserved. Plato makes it the mother of the Muses * Aristotle sets it one degree further, making Experience the mother of Arts, Memory the parent of Experience. Philosophers place it in the rere of the head; and it seems the mine of Memory lies there, because there naturally men dig for it, scratching it when they are at a losse. This again is twofold: one, the simple retention of things; the other, a regaining them when forgotten.

Maxime I

Brute creatures equall, if not exceed, men in a bare retentive Memory. Through how many labyrinths of woods, without other clue of threed then naturall instinct, doth the hunted hare return to her muce? How doth the little bee, flying into

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feverall meadows and gardens, sipping of many cups, yet never intoxicated, through an ocean (as I may say) of air, steddily steer her self home, without help of card or compasse. But these cannot play an astergame, and recover what they have forgotten, which is done by the mediation of discourse.

Artificiall memory is rather a trick then an art, and more for the gain of the teacher then profit of the learners. Like the tossing of a pike, which is no part of the postures and motions thereof, and is rather for ostentation then use, to shew the strength and nimblenesse of the arm, and is often used by wandring Souldiers as an introduction to beg. Understand it of the artificial rules which at this day are delivered by Memory-mountebanks, for sure an art thereof may be made (wherein as yet the world is desective) and that no more destructive to natural Memory then spectacles are to eyes, which girls in Holland wear from 12 years of age. But till this be found out, let us observe these plain rules.

First soundly infix in thy mind what thou desirest to remember. What wonder is it if agitation of businesse jog that out of thy head, which was there rather tack'd then fastned? whereas those notions which get in by violenta possessio will abide there till ejectio firma, sicknesse or extreme age, dispossesse them. It is best knocking in the nail overnight, and

dinching it the next morning.

Remember Atlas was weary. Have as much reason as a Camell, to rise when thou hast thy full load. Memory, like a purse, if it be over full that it cannot shut, all will drop out of it: Take heed of a gluttonous curiositie to feed on many things, lest the greedinesse of the appetite of thy Memory spoyl the digestion thereof. Beza's case was peculiar and memorable; being above sourcescore years of age he perfectly could say by heart any Greek Chapter in *S. Pauls Epistles, or any thing else which he had learnt long before, but forgot whatsoever was newly told him; his Memory like an inne retaining old guests, but having no room to entertain new.

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* Thuan. obis. doct. virorum. pag. 384.

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* Metaphys. lib. 1. cap. 1.

Maxime I

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Overburthen not thy Memory to make so faithfull a servant a slave. Remember Atlas was weary. Have as much realon as a Camell, to rife when thou hast thy full load. Memory, like apurle, if it be over full that it cannot shut, all will drop out of it: Take heed of a gluttonous curiofitie to feed on many things, left the greedinesse of the appetite of thy Memory spoyl the digestion thereof. Beza's case was peculiar and memorable; being above fourescore years of age he perfectly could fay by heart any Greek Chapter in *S. Pauls Epistles, or any thing else which he had learnt long before, but forgot whatfoever was newly told him; his Memory like an inne retaining old guests, but having no room to entertain new. Spoyl 1

* Thuan. obis. doct. virorum. pag. 384.

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* Testatus est Deum, nescisfe se hoc posse ante illud experimentum, August. Tom. 7. lib. de anima & ejus orig. cap. 7. Spoyl not thy Memory with thine own jealousie, nor make it bad by suspecting it. How canst thou find that true which thou wilt not trust? S. Augustine tells us of his friend Simplicius, who being ask'd, could tell all Virgills verses backward and forward, and yet the same party, *vowed to God, that he knew not that he could do it till they did try him. Sure there is conceal'd strength in mens Memories, which they take no notice of.

Marshall thy notions into a handsome method. One will carrie twice more weight trust and pack'd up in bundles, then when it lies untowardly flapping and hanging about his shoulders. Things orderly fardled up under heads are most

portable.

Adventure not all thy learning in one bottom, but divide it betwixt thy Memory and thy Note-books. He that with Bias carries all his learning about him in his head will utterly be beggerd and bankrupt, if a violent disease, a mercilesse thief, should rob and strip him. I know some have a Common-place against Common-place-books, and yet perchance will privately make use of what publickly they declaim against. A Common-place-book contains many Notions in garison, whence the owner may draw out an army into the field on competent warning.

Moderate diet and good aire preserve Memory; but what aire is best I dare not define, when such great ones differ. *Some say a pure and subtle aire is best, another commends a thick and foggy aire. For the *Pisans sited in the sennes and marish of Arnus have excellent memories, as if the foggy

aire were a cap for their heads.

Thankfulnesse to God for it continues the Memory: whereas some proud people have been visited with such oblivion, that they have forgotten their own names. Staupitius Tutour to Luther, and a godly man, in a vain ostentation of his memory repeated Christs Genealogie (Matth. 1.) by heart in his Sermon, but being out about the Captivity of Babylon, I see (saith * he) God resisteth the proud, and so betook himself to his book. Abuse not thy Memory to be Sinnes Register,

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* Plato, Arifotle, Tully. * Singulari valent memoriâ quo urbs crafliore fruztur aere, Mercat. Atlas in Tussia.

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* Melchior Adamusin vita Staupitii, pag. 20. lt

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Register, nor make advantage thereof for wickednesse. Excellently * Augustine, Quidam vero pessimi memoria sunt mirabili, qui tanto pejores sunt, quanto minus possunt, qua male cogitant, oblivisci.

* De civ. Dei lib. 7. cap. 3. Maxime 1

CHAP. II.

Of Phancie.

T is an inward Sense of the soul, for a while retaining and examining things brought in thither by the Common sense. It is the most boundlesse and restlesse faculty of the foul: for whilest the Understanding and the Will are kept as it were in Libera Custodia to their objects of Verum & Bonum, the Phancie is free from all engagements: it digs without spade, sails without ship, flies without wings, builds without charges, fights without bloudshed, in a moment striding from the centre to the circumference of the world, by a kind of omnipotencie creating and annihilating things in an instant; and things divorced in Nature are married in Phancie as in a lawfull place. It is also most restlesse: whilest the Senses are bound, and Reason in a manner asleep, Phancie like a fentinell walks the round, ever working, never wearied. The chief diseases of the Phancie are, either that they are too wild and high soaring, or else too low and groveling, or elfe too defultory and overvoluble. Of the first.

If thy Phancie be but a little too rank, age it self will correct it. To lift too high is no fault in a young horse, because with travelling he will mend it for his own ease. Thus losty Phancies in young men will come down of themselves, and in processe of time the overplus will shrink to be but even measure. But if this will not do it, then observe these rules.

Take part alwayes with thy Judgement against thy Phancie in any thing wherein they shall differe. If thou suspectos this conceits to luxuriant, herein account thy suspicion a legall conviction, and damne whatsoever thou doubtest of. Warily Tullie,

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Bene monent, qui vetant quicquam facere, de quo dubitas, æquum sit an iniquum.

Take the advise of a faithfull friend, and submit thy inventions to his censure. When thou pennest an oration, let him have the power of Index expurgatorius, to expunge what he pleaseth; and do not thou like a fond mother crie if the child of thy brain be corrected for playing the wanton. Mark the arguments and reasons of his alterations, why that phrase least proper, this passage more cautius and advised, and after a while thou shalt perform the place in thine own person, and not go out of thy felf for a censurer. If thy Phancie be

Let thy judgement be King but not Tyrant over it, to condemne harmlesse yea commendable conceits. Some for fear their orations should giggle will not let them smile. Give it also liberty to rove, for it will not be extravagant. There is no danger that weak folks if they walk abroad will straggle farre, as wanting strength.

Acquaint thy self with reading Poets, for there Phancie is in her throne; and in time the sparks of the Authours wit will catch hold on the Reader, and inflame him with love, liking, and desire of imitation. I confesse there is more required to teach one to write then to see a coppy: however there is a secret force of fascination in reading Poems to raise and provoke Phancie. If thy Phancie be over voluble, then

Whip this vagrant home to the first object whereon it should be settled. Indeed nimblenesse is the persection of this faculty, but levity the bane of it. Great is the difference betwixta swift horse, and a skittish, that will stand on no ground. Such is the ubiquitary Phancie, which will keep long residence on no one subject, but is so courteous to strangers that it ever welcomes that conceit most which comes last, and new species supplant the old ones, before seriously considered. If this be the fault of thy Phancie, I say whip it home to the first object, whereon it should be settled. This do as often as occasion requires, and by degrees the sugitive servant will learn to abide by his work without running away.

Acquaint

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too low and humble,

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Phancie runs most furiously when a guilty Conscience drives it. One that owed much money, and had many Creditours, as he walked London-streets in the evening, a tenterhook catch'd his cloak, At whose suit? said he, conceiving some Baliss had arrested him. Thus guilty Consciences are afraid where no fear is, and count every creature they meet a Serjeant sent from God to punish them.

CHAP. 12.

Of Naturall Fools.

They have the cases of men, and little else of them befides speech and laughter. And indeed it may seem strange that Risibile being the propertie of man alone, they who have least of man should have most thereof, laughing without cause or measure.

Maxime I

Generally Nature hangs out a figne of simplicity in the face of a Fool; and there is enough in his countenance for an Hue and Crie to take him on suspicion: or else it is stamped on the figure of his body; their heads sometimes so little, that there is no room for wit; sometimes so long, that there is no wit for so much room.

Yet some by their faces may passe currant enough till they cry them selves down by their speaking. Thus men know the bell is crackt, when they heare it toll'd; yet some that have stood out the assault of two or three questions, and have answered pretty rationally, have afterwards of their own accord betrayed and yielded themselves to be sools.

The oathes and railing of Fools is oftentimes no fault of theirs but their teachers. The Hebrew word Barac signifies to blesse, and to curse; and tis the speakers pleasure if he use it in the worst acception. Fools of themselves are equally capable to pray and to swear; they therefore have the greatest sinne who by their example or otherwise teach them so to do.

One may get wisdome by looking on a Fool. In beholding him, think

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think how much thou art beholden to him that suffered thee not to be like him: Onely Gods pleasure put a difference betwixt you. And consider that a Fool and a Wiseman are alike both in the startingplace, their birth, and at the post, their death; onely they differ in the race of their lives.

It is unnaturall to laugh at a Naturall. How can the object of thy pity be the subject of thy pastime? I confesse sometimes the strangenesse, and, as I may say, witty simplicity of their actions may extort a smile from a serious man, who at the same time may smile at them and sorrow for them. But it is one thing to laugh at them in transitu, a snap and away, and another to make a set meal in jeering them, and as the Philistines to send for Sampson to make them sport.

To make a trade of laughing at a Fool is the highway to become one. Tullie confesseth that whilest he laughed at one * Hirtus a very ridiculous man, dum illum rideo pene fastus sum ille: And one telleth us of Gallus Vibius, a man first of great eloquence, and afterwards of great madnesse, which seized not on him so much by accident as his own affectation, so long * mimically imitating mad men that he became one.

Many have been the wise speeches of foods, though not so many as the foolish speeches of wise men. Now the wise speeches of these silly souls proceed from one of these reasons: Either because talking much, and shooting often, they must needs hit the mark sometimes, though not by aim, by hap: Or else because a Fools mediocriter is optime; Sense from his mouth, a Sentence; and a tolerable speech cri'd up for an Apothegme: Or lastly, because God may sometimes illuminate them, and (especially towards their death) admit them to the possession of some part of reason. A poore begger in Paris being very hungry stayed so long in a Cooks shop, who was dishing up of meat till his stomach was satisfied with the onely smell thereof. The cholerick covetous Cook demanded of him to

* Epist.lib. 2.
Epist. 9.

* Dum infanos imitatur, quod affimulabat ad vivum redegit, Rhodiginus Antiq. lib.11. cap. 13.

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*Jo. And. Panor. Barba. & alii inde ad noftram. Hiero. Franc. in lib. furiof. dereg. jurisff. Boer. decif. 23 m. 58. Mantic. de conject. ult. v. lib. 2. Tit. 5. n. 8. Corfet. fing. verbi Testamentum.

pay for his breakfast. The poore man denyed it and the controversie was referr'd to the deciding of the next man that should passe by, which chanced to be the most notorious Idiot in the whole City. He on the relation of the matter determined that the poore mans money should be put betwixt two empty dishes, and the Cook should be recompenced with the gingling of the poore mans money, as he was satisfied with the onely smell of the Cooks meat. And this is affirmed by * credible Writers, as no fable but an undoubted fact. More waggish was that of a rich landed Fool, whom a Courtier had begg'd, and carried about to wait on him. He coming with his mafter to a Gentlemans house where the picture of a Fool was wrought in a fair suit of arras, cut the picture out with a penknife. And being chidden for so doing, You have more cause (said he) to thank me, for if my master had seen the picture of the Fool, he would have begg'd the hangings of the King as he did my lands. When the standers by comforted a Naturall which lay on his death-bed, and told him that foure proper fellows should carry his body to the Church: Yea (quoth he) but I had rather by half go thither my felf; and then prayed to God at his last gasp not to require more of him then he gave him.

As for a Changeling, which is not one child changed for another, but one child on a sudden much changed from it self; and for a Jester, which some count a necessary evil in a Court (an office which none but he that hath wit can perform, and none but he that wants wit will perform) I conceive them not to belong to the present subject.

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Снар. 13.

Of Recreations.

Recreations is a second Creation, when wearinesse hath almost annihilated ones spirits. It is the breathing of the soul, which otherwise would be stifled with continuall businesse. We may trespasse in them, if using such as are forbidden by the Lawyer as against the statutes; Physician,

as against health; Divine, as against conscience.

Be well satisfied in thy Conscience of the lawfulnesse of the recreation thou usest. Some fight against Cockfighting, and bait Bull and Bearbaiting, because man is not to be a common Barretour to set the creatures at discord; and seeing Antipathy betwixt creatures was kindled by mans sinne, what pleasure can he take to see it burn? Others are of the contrary opinion, and that Christianity gives us a placard to use these sports; and that mans Charter of dominion over the creatures enables him to employ them as well for pleasure as necessity. In these, as in all other doubtfull recreations, be well assured first of the legality of them. He that sinnes against his Conscience sinnes with a witnesse.

Spill not the morning (the quintessence of the day) in recreations. For sleep it self is a recreation; adde not therefore sauce to sauce; and he cannot properly have any title to be resreshed, who was not first faint. Pastime, like wine, is poyson in the morning. It is then good husbandry to sow the head, which hath lain fallow all night, with some serious work. Chiefly intrench not on the Lords day to use unlawfull sports; this were to spare thine own flock, and to sheere Gods lambe.

Let thy recreations be ingenious, and bear proportion with thine age. If thou faist with Paul, When I was a child I did as a child, say also with him, But when I was a man I put away childish things. Wear also the childs coat, if thou uses this sports.

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crease goodnesse, as wanting both his institution and benediction.

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Choak not thy soul with immoderate pouring in the cordiall of pleasures. The Creation lasted but six dayes of the first week:
Prophane they whose Recreation lasts seven dayes every
week. Rather abbridge thy self of thy lawfull liberty herein;
it being a wary rule which S. *Gregory gives us, Solus in illicitis non cadit, qui se aliquando & à licitis caute restringit. And
then Recreations shall both strengthen labour, and sweeten
rest, and we may expect Gods blessing and protection on us
in following them, as well as in doing our work: For he
that saith grace for his meat, in it prayes also to God to
blesse the sauce unto him. As for those that will not take
lawfull pleasure, I am afraid they will take unlawfull pleasure, and by lacing themselves too hard grow awry on
one side.

*Lib.5.moral.

& Homil. 35.

Supra Evang.

CHAP. 14. Of Tombes.

T Ombes are the clothes of the dead: a Grave is but a plain suit, and a rich Monument is one embroyder'd. Most moderate men have been carefull for the decent interment of their corps. Few of the fond mind of Arbogastus an Irish Saint, and Bishop of Spires in Germany, who would be buried near the *Gallows in imitation of our Saviour. whose grave was in mount Calvary near the place of execution.

* Warraus de Scriptor. Hiber.pag.26.

Maxime 1

*Georgie. lib.

"Tis a provident way to make ones Tombe in ones life-time; both hereby to prevent the negligence of heirs, and to mind him of his mortality. * Virgil tell us that when bees swarm in the aire, and two armies meeting together, fight as it were a set battel with great violence, cast but a little dust upon them and they will be quiet.

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Himotus animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescunt.

Thele stirrings of their minds and strivings vast.

If but a little dust on them be cast,

Are straitwayes stinted, and quite overpast.

Thus the most ambitious motions and thoughts of mans mind are quickly quell'd when dust is thrown on him, whereof his fore-prepared Sepulchre is an excellent remembrancer.

Yet some seem to have built their Tombes, therein to bury their thoughts of dying, never thinking thereof, but embracing the world with greater greedinesse. A Gentleman made choice of a fair stone, and intending the same for his Grave-stone, caused it to be pitched up in a field a pretty distance from his house, and used often to shoot at it for his exercise. Yea but (said a wag that stood by) you would be loath Sir to hit the mark: And so are many unwilling to die who notwithstan-

ding have erected their Monuments.

Tombes ought in some sort to be proportioned not to the wealth but deserts of the party interred. Yet may we see some rich man of mean worth loaden under a tombe big enough for a Prince to bear. There were Officers appointed in the * Grecian Games, who alwayes by publick authority did pluck down the Statues erected to the Victours, if they exceeded the true symmetrie and proportion of their bodies. We need such nowadayes to order Monuments to mens merits, chiefly to reform such depopulating Tombes as have no good fellowship with them, but engrosse all the room, leaving neither leats for the living, nor graves for the dead. It was a wife and thrifty law which * Reutha King of Scotland made, That Noblemen should have so many pillars, or long pointed stones set on their sepulchres, as they had slain enemies in the warres. If this order were also enlarged to thole who in peace had excellently delerved of the Church or Common-wealth, it might well be revived.

Overcostly Tombes are onely baits for Sacriledge. Thus Sacriledge hath beheaded that peerelesse Prince King Henrie the * Lucian. mpl

*Hector Boeth in the life of King Reutha.

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* J. Speed in the end of Henry the 5. * In the defeript. of London, Broadfreet-ward, pag. 184.

* Si nimirum fepulchrorum diffolutorem effe probaverit, Kirkman. de funer. Roman. lib. 2. c. 26. ex cod. de repudiis.

* 45, Fui Caius. Scaligeri quod reliquum est. Depositum Cardinalis Poli, 60°c.

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fifth, the body of whose Statue on his Tombe in Westminster was covered over with silver plate guilded, and his head of * massy silver; both which now are stollen away: Yea hungry palats will feed on courser meat. I had rather * Mr Stow then I should tell you of a Nobleman who sold the monuments of Noblemen, in S. Augustines Church in Broadstreet, for an hundred pound, which cost many thousands, and in the place thereof made fair stabling for horses, as if Christ who was born in a stable should be brought into it the second time. It was not without cause in the Civill Law that a wife might be divored, from her husband, if she could prove him to be one that had * broken the Sepulchres of the dead: For it was presumed he must needs be a tyrannicall husband to his wife, who had not so much mercy as to spare the asses of the departed.

The shortest, plainest, and truest Epitaphs are best. I say, the Shortest; for when a Passenger sees a Chronicle written on a Tombe, he takes it on trust, some Great man lies there buried, without taking pains to examine who he is. Mr Cambden in his Remains presents us with examples of Great men that had little * Epitaphs. And when once I ask'd a witty Gentleman, an honoured friend of mine, what Epitaph was sittest to be written on Mr Cambdens Tombe.

Let it be, said he,

CAMBDENS REMAINS.

I say also the Plainest; for except the sense lie above ground, sew will trouble themselves to dig fort. Lastly, it must be True: Not as in some Monuments, where the red veins in the marble may seem to blush at the falshoods written on it. He was a witty man that first taught a stone to speak, but he was a wicked man that taught it first to lie.

To want a Grave is the cruelty of the living, not the misery of the dead. An English Gentleman not long since did lie on his death-bed in Spain, and the Jesuites did flock about him to pervert him to their Religion. All was in vain. Their last argument was, If you will not turn Romane Catholick, then your body shall be unburied. Then (answered he) I'le stink,

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and so turned his head and dyed. Thus love, if not to the dead, to the living will make him, if not a grave, a hole: and it was the Beggers Epitaph,

Nudus eram vivus, mortuus ecce tegor. Naked I liv'd, but being dead, Now behold I'm covered.

A good Memory is the best Monument. Others are subject to Casualty and Time, and we know that the Pyramids themselves doting with age have forgotten the names of their Founders. To conclude, Let us be carefull to provide rest for our souls, and our bodies will provide rest for themselves. And let us not be herein like unto Gentlewomen, which care not to keep the inside of the orenge, but candy and preserve onely the outside thereof.

CHAP. 15.

Of Deformitie.

D Eformitie is either Naturall, Voluntary, or Adventitious, being either caused by Gods unseen Providence (by men nicknamed, Chance) or by mans Cruelty. We will take them in order.

If thou beest not so handsome as thou wouldest have been thank God thou art no more unhandsome then thou art. 'Tis his mercie thou art not the mark for passengers fingers to point at, an Heteroclite in Nature, with some member defective or redundant. Be glad that thy clay-cottage hath all the necessary rooms thereto belonging, though the outside be not so fairly playstered as some others.

Yet is it lawfull and commendable by Art to correct the defects and deformities of Nature. Ericthonius being a goodly man from the girdle upwards, but, as the Poets feigne, having downwards the body of a * Serpent (moralice him to have had some defect in his feet) first invented charets, wherein he so sate that the upper parts of him might be seen, and the rest

Maxime 1

* Servius in illud Virgilii lib. 3. Georg. Primus Ericthonius, &c.

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* Sanders de schism.Anglic. lib.1.pag.17. of his body concealed. Little heed is to be given to his *lying pen, who maketh Anna Bollen, Mother to Queen Elizabeth, the first finder out and wearer of Russes, to cover a wen she had in her neck. Yet the matter's not much, such an addition of Art being without any fraud or deceit.

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Mock not at those who are misshapen by Nature. There is the same reason of the poore and of the deformed; he that despiseth them despiseth God that made them. A poore man is a picture of Gods own making, but set in a plain frame, not guilded: a deformed man is also his workmanship, but not drawn with even lines and lively colours: The former, not for want of wealth, as the latter not for want of skill, but both for the pleasure of the maker. As for * Aristotle, who would have parents expose their deformed children to the wide world without caring for them, his opinion herein, not onely deform'd but most monstrous, deserves rather to be exposed to the scorn and contempt of all men.

* Lib.7. Polit.

Some people handsome by Nature have wilfully deformed themfelves. Such as wear Bacchus his colours in their faces, arising not from having, but being, bad livers. When the woman (the first of Kings, the 3. and 21.) considered the child that was laid by her, Behold, said she, it was not my some which Idid bear. Should God survey the faces of many men and women, he would not own and acknowledge them for those which he created: many are so altered in colour, and some in sex, women to men, and men to women in their monstrous fashions, so that they who behold them cannot by the evidence of their apparell give up their verdict of what sex they are. It is most safe to call the users of these hermaphroditicall sashions, Francisses, and Philips, names agreeing to both sexes.

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Confessions which wear the badges of truth are thereby made the more beautifull; though deformed in time of Persecution for Christs sake through mens malice. This made Constantine the Great to * kisse the hole in the face of Paphnutius, out of which the Tyrant Maximinus had bored his eye for the profession of the faith, the good Emperour making much of

* Ruffin, lib.1.

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the socket even when the candle was put out. Next these, wounds in warre are most honourable: Halting is the state-liest march of a Souldier; and 'tis a brave sight to see the sless of an Ancient as torn as his Colours. He that mocks at the marks of valour in a Souldiers sace, is likely to live to have the brands of justice on his own shoulders.

Nature oftentimes recompenceth deform'd bodies with excellent wits. Witnesse Æsop, then whose Fables children cannot reade an easier, nor men a wiserbook; for all latter Morallists do but write comments upon them. Many jeering wits who have thought to have rid at their ease on the bowed backs of some Cripples, have by their unhappy answers been unhors and thrown flat on their own backs. A jeering Gentleman commended a Begger who was deformed and little better then blind for having an excellent eye, True (said the Begger) for I can discern an honest man from such a knave as you are.

Their ouls have been the Chappells of fanctity; whose bodies have been the Spitolls of deformity. An * Emperour of Germany coming by chance on a Sunday into a Church, found there a most miss shapen Priest, pene portentum Natura, insomuch as the Emperour scorn'd and contemn'd him. But when he heard him reade those words in the Service, For it is he that made is and not we our selves, the Emperour check'd his own proud thoughts, and made inquiry into the quality and condition of the man, and finding him on examination to to be most learned and devout, he made him Archbishop of Colen, which place he did excellently discharge.

* Guliel. Malm. lib. 2. cap. 10.

CHAP. 16.

Of Plantations.

Plantations make mankind broader, as Generation makes it thicker. To advance an happy Plantation the Undertakers, Planters, and Place it self must contribute their endeayours.

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Maxime I

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Let the prime Undertakers be men of no shallow heads, nor narnarrow fortunes. Such as have a reall Estate, so that if deseated in their adventure abroad, they may have a retreating place at home, and such as will be contented with their present losse to be benefactours to posterity. But if the Prince himself be pleased not one to wink at them with his permission, but also to smile on them with his encouragement, there is great hope of successe: for then he will grant them some immunities and priviledges. Otherwise (Infants must be swathed not laced) young Plantations will never grow, if straitned with as hard Laws as settled Common-wealths.

Let the Planters be honest, skilfull, and painfull people. For if they be such as leap thither from the gallows, can any hope for cream out of scumme? when men send (as I may say) Christian Savages to Heathen Savages. It was rather bitterly then falsely spoken concerning one of our Western Plantations (consisting most of dissolute people) That a was very like unto England, as being spit out of the very mouth of it. Nor must the Planters be onely honest but industrious also. What hope is there that they who were drones at home will be bees abroad, especially if farre off from any to oversee them.

Let the place be naturally strong, or at leastwife capable of fortification. For though at the first Planters are sufficiently enced with their own povertie, and though at the beginning their worst enemies will spare them out of pity to themselves, their spoyl not countervailing the cost of spoyling themyet when once they have gotten wealth, they must get strength to defend it. Here know llands are easily shut, whereas Continents have their doores ever open, not to be bolted without great charges. Besides, unadvised are those Planters, who having choice of ground, have built their Towns in places of a servile nature, as being overawed and constantly commanded by some hills about them.

Let it have a Self-sufficiency, or some Staple commoditie to ballante traffique with other countreys. As for a Self-sufficiencie sew countreys can stand alone, and such as can for matter of

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want, will for wantonnesse lean on others. Staple commodities are such as are never out of fashion, as belonging to a man's Being, Being with comfort, Being with delight, the Luxury of our age having made superfluities necessary. And such a place will thrive the better, when men may say with Isaac, * Rehoboth, Now the Lord hath made Gen. 26. 22. room for us, when new Colonies come not in with extirpa? tion of the Natives; for this is rather a Supplanting then a Planting.

Let the Plantars labour to be loved and feared of the Natives. With whom let them use all just bargaining, being as naked in their dealings with them as the other in their going keeping all covenants, performing all promises with them: Let them embrace all occasions to convert them, knowing that each Convert is a conquest; and it is more honour to overcome Paganisme in one, then to conquer a thousand Pagans. As for the inscription of a Deity in their hearts it need not be new written, but onely new scowred in them. am confident that America (though the youngest fister of the four) is now grown marriageable, and daily hopes to get Christ to her husband, by the Preaching of the Gospel. This makes me attentively to listen after some Protestants first-fruits, in hope the harvest will ripen afterwards.

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CHAP. 17.

Of Contentment.

T' is one property which (they say) is required of those I who leek for the Philosophers stone, that they must not do it with any covetous defire to be rich; for otherwise they shall never find it. But most true it is that who loever would have this Jewell of Contentment (which turns all into Gold, yea Want into Wealth) must come with minds devested of all ambitious and covetous thoughts, else are they

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never likely to obtain it. We will describe Contentment first negatively:

Maxime I

It is not a senselesse stupidity what becomes of our outward estates. God would have us take notice of all accidents which from him happen to us in worldly matters. Had the Martyrs had the dead palsie before they went to the stake to be burnt their suffrings had not been so glorious.

It is not a word-braving, or scorning of all wealth in discourse. Generally those who boast most of Contentment have least of it. Their very boasting shews that they want something and basely beg it, namely Commendation. These in their language are like unto kites in their flying, which mount in the aire so scornfully, as if they disdain'd to stoop for the whole earth, fetching about many stately circuits: but what is the Spirit these conjurers with so many circles intend to raise ? a poore chicken, or perchance a piece of carrion: And so the height of the others proud boasting will humble

it self for a little base gain. But it is an humble and willing submitting our selves to Gods pleasure in all conditions. One observeth (how truly I dispute not) that the French naturally have so elegant and gracefull a carriage, that what posture of body soever in their salutati. ons or what fashion of attire soever they are pleased to take on them it doth so beseem them, that one would think nothing can become them better. Thus Contentment makes men carry themselves gracefully in wealth, want, in health, ficknesse, freedome, fetters, yea what condition soever God allots them.

It is no breach of Contentment for men to complain that their suffrings are unjust, as offered by men: provided they allow them tor just, as proceeding from God, who uleth wicked mens injust ce to correct his children. But let us take heed that we bite not so high at the handle of the rod, as to fasten on his hand that holds it; our discontentments mounting so high as to quarrell with God himself.

It is no breach of Contentment for men by lawfull means to seek the removall of their miserie, and bettering of their estate. Thus

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Chap. 17. Generall Rules.	183
nen ought by industrie to endeavour the getting of more wealth, ever submitting themselves to Gods will. A lazy and is no argument of a contented heart. Indeed he that sidle, and followeth after vain persons shall have enough, out how? Prov. 28.19. Shall have poverty enough.	
Gods Spirit is the best Schoolmaster to teach Contentment: A choolmaster who can make good Scholars, and warrant he successe as well as his endeavour. The School of anctified afflictions is the best place to learn Contentment in: I say, Sanctified; for naturally, like resty horses, we go the worse for the beating, if God blesse not afflictions unto us.	6
Contentment consisteth not in adding more suell, but in taking many some fire: not in multiplying of wealth, but in sub-fracting mens desires. Wordly riches, like nuts, tear many clothes in getting them, spoil many teeth in cracking them, but fill no belly with eating them, obstructing only the stomach with toughnesse, and filling the guts with windinesse: Yea our souls may sooner surfet then be satisfied with earthly things. He that at first thought ten thousand bound too much for any one man, will afterwards think ten millions too little for himself.	7
Men create more discontents to themselves, then ever happened to them from others. We read of our Saviour that at the buriall of Lazarus, Joh. 11.33. 'Esapages causes, He troubled himself, by his spirit raising his own passions, though without any taxie or sinfull disturbance. What was an act of power in him, is an act of weaknesse in other men: Man disquieteth imself in vain, with many causlesse and needlesse at-lictions.	8
Pious meditations much advantage Contentment in adversitie. Such as these are, to consider first, that more are beneath us then above us; secondly, many of Gods dear Saints have been in the same condition; thirdly, we want rather superduities then necessaries; fourthly, the more we have the more we must account for; fisthly, earthly blessings through aans corruption are more prone to be abused then well R 2 used	9

used. In some fenny places in England, where they are much troubled with gnats, they use to hang up dung in the midst of the room for a bait for the gnats to flie to, and so catch them with a net provided for the purpose. Thus the devil en. fnareth the fouls of many men by illuring them with the muck and dung of this world, to undo them eternally. fixthly, we must leave all earthly wealth at our death, and riches avail not in the day of wrath. But as some use to fill up the stamp of light gold with dirt, thereby to make it weigh the heavier; so it seems some men load their souls with thick clay, to make them passe the better in Gods ballance, but all to no purpose; seventhly the lesse we have, the lesse it will grieve us to leave this world; lastly, it is the will of God, and therefore both for his glory and our good, whereof we ought to be affured. I have heard how a Gentleman travelling in a misty morning ask'd of a Shepherd (such men being generally skill'd in the Phisiognomie of the Heavens) what weather it would be? It will be, said the Shepherd, what weather shall please me: and being courteously requested to expresse his meaning, Sir, (said he) It shall be what weather pleafeth God, and what weather pleaseth God, pleaseth me. Thus Contentment maketh men to have even what they think fitting themselves, because submitting to Gods will and pleafure.

To conclude; A man ought to be like a cunning Actour, who if he be enjoined to represent the person of some Prince or Nobleman, does it with a grace and comlinesse; if by and by he be commanded to lay that aside, and play the Begger, he does that as willingly and as well. But as it happened in a Tragedy (to spare naming the Person and Place) that one being to act Theseus, in Hercules Furens, comming out of Hell, could not for a long time be perswaded to wear old sooty clothes proper for his part, but would needs come out of Hell in a white Satin doublet: so we are generally loth, and it goes against sless and bloud, to live in a low and poor estate, but would fain

fain act in richer and handsomer clothes, till Grace, with much adoe, subdues our rebellious stomachs to Gods will.

CHAP. 18.

Of Books.

C Olomon faith truly, Of making many Books there is no end, In instiable is the thirst of men therein: as also endlesse is the defire of many in buying and reading them. But we come to our Rules.

It is a vanity to persuade the world one hath much learning by get- Maxime I ting a great library. As foon shall I beleeve every one is valiant that hath a well furnished armoury. I guesse good housekeeping by the smoaking, not the number of the tunnels, as knowing that many of them (built meerly for uniformity) are without chimnies, and more without fires. Once a dunce, void of learning but full of Books, flouted a library-lesse scholar with these words, Salve Doctor sine libris: But the next day the Scholar coming into this jeerers study crowded with Books, Salvete libri (faith he) fine Doctore.

Fem Books well selected are best. Yet as a certain Fool bought all the pictures that came out, because he might have his choice; such is the vain humour of many men in gathering of Books: yet when they have done all they misse their end, it being in the Editions of Authors as in the fashions of clothes, when a man thinks he hath gotten the latest and newest, presently another newer comes out.

Some Books are only cursorily to be tasted of. Namely first Voluminous Books, the task of a mans life to read them over; secondly Auxiliary Books, only to be repair'd to on occasions; thirdly such as are meer pieces of Formality, so that if you look on them you look thorow them; and he that peeps thorow the casement of the Index sees as much

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as if he were in the house. But the lazinesse of those cannot be excused who perfunctorily passe over Authours of consequence, and onely trade in their Fables and contents. These like City-Cheaters having gotten the names of all countrey Gentlemen, make filly people believe they have long lived in those places where they never were, and flourish with skill in those Authours they never seriously studied.

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The Genius of the Authour is commonly discovered in the Dedicatory epistle. Many place the purest grain in the mouth of the fack for chapmen to handle orbuy: And from the dedication one may probably gueffe at the Work, faving some rare and peculiar exceptions. Thus when once a Gentleman admired how so pithy, learned, and witty a dedication was match'd to a flat, dull, foolish book; In truth, said another, they may be well match'd together, for I professe they be nothing a kinne.

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* Wards An-

nimadver. of warre fest. 17. Lib. 2. cap. 5.

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* Thuanes obit. vir. Doff. Anne 1598.

* Idem incodem oper. Anno 1589.

Proportion an houres meditation to an houres reading of a stable Authour. This makes a man mafter of his learning, and dispirits the book into the Scholar. The King of Sweden never * filed his men above fix deep in one company, because he would not have them lie in ulelesse clusters in his Army, but so that every particular Souldier might be drawn out into service. Books that stand thinne on the shelves, yet so as the owner of them can bring forth every one of them into use, are better then farre greater libraries.

Learning bath gained most by those books by which the Printers have lost. Arius Montanus in printing the Hebrew Bible (commonly called the Bible of the King of Spain) much wasted himself, and was accused in the Court of Rome for his good deed, and being cited thither, * Pro tantorum laborum pramio vix veniam impetravit. Likewise Christopher Plantin by printing of his curious interlineary Bible in Anwerp, through the unseasonable * exactions of the Kings Officers, funk and almost ruin'd his estate. And our worthy English Knight, who set forth the golden-mouth'd Father in a silver print, was a loofer by it.

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Whereas foolish Pamphlets prove most beneficiall to the Printers. When a French Printer complain'd that he was utterly undone by Printing a solid serious book of Rablais concerning Physick, Rablais to make him recompence made that his jesting scurrilous Work which repair'd the Printers losse with advantage. Such books the world swarms too much with. When one had fet out a witleffe Pamphlet, writing Finis at the end thereof, another wittily wrote beneath it,

-Nay there thou list, my friend, In writing fooligh books there is no end.

And furely such scurrilous scandalous papers do more then conceivable mischief. First their lusciousnesse puts many palats out of taste, that they can never after rellish any solid and wholsome Writers: secondly, they cast dirt on the faces of many innocent persons, which dryed on by continuance of time can never after be washed off: thirdly, the Pamphlets of this age may passe for Records with the next, (because publickly uncontrolled) and what we laugh at, our children may beleive : fourthly, grant the things true they jeer at, yet this musick is unlawfull in any Christian Church, to play upon the sinnes and miseries of others, the fitter object of the Elegies then the Satyrs of all truly religious.

But what do I speaking against multiplicity of books in this age, who trespasse in this nature my self? what was a *learned mans complement may serve for my confession refat. in 3.
and conclusion, Multi mei similes hoc morbo laborant, ut cum scri- seriem 4.
Tomi Hieron. bere nesciant tamen a scribendo temperare non possint.

PSE. 40%.

CHAP. 19.

Of Time-serving.

Here be foure kinds of Time-serving: first, out of Christian discretion, which is commendable; second, out of humane infirmity, which is more pardonable; third,

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and fourth, out of ignorance, or affectation, both which are damnable: of them in order.

Book III.

Maxime I

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He is a good Time-server that complies his manners to the severall ages of this life: pleasant in youth, without wantonnesse; grave in old age, without frowardnesse. Frost is as proper for winter, as flowers for spring. Gravity becomes the ancient; and a green Christmas is neither handsome nor healthfull.

He is a good Time-server that finds out the fittest opportunity for every action. God hath made a time for every thing under the sunne, save only for that, which we do at all times, to wit Sinne.

He is a good Time-server that improves the present for Gods glory, and his own Salvation. Of all the extent of time only the infant is that which we can call ours.

He is a good Time-server that is pliant to the times in matters of meer indifferency. To blame are they whose minds may seem to be made of one entire bone without any joints: they cannot bend at all, but stand as stifly in things of pure indifferency, as in matters of absolute necessity.

He is a good Time-server that in time of persecution neither betrayes Gods cause, nor his own safety. And this he may do.

By lying hid both in his person and practice: though he will do no evil he will forbear the publick doing of some good. He hath as good cheer in his heart, though he keeps not open house, and will not publickly broch his Religion, till the palat of the times be better in taste to rellish it. The * Prudent shall keep silence in that time, for it is an evill time. Though according to S. Peters command we are to give a * reason of our hope to every one that asketh; namely, that asketh for his instruction, but not for our destruction, especially if wanting lawfull Authority to examine us. * Ye shall be brought saith Christ (no need have they therefore to run) before Princes for my sake.

2 By flying away: if there be no absolute necessity of his flaying, no scandall given by his flight; if he wants strength

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* Amos 5.0.13

* 1 Pet.3. 15.

Manh. 10.

constant blushing for shame of their former cowardlinesse hath made their fouls ever after look more modest and beautifull. Thus Cranmer (who subscribed to Popery) grew valiant afterwards, and thrust his right hand which subscribed first into the fire, so that that hand dyed (as it were) a malefactour, and all the rest of his body a martyr.

Some have served the times out of meer Ignorance. Gaping for company, as others gap'd before them, Pater noster, or, Our Father, I could both figh and smile at the witty simplicity of a poor old woman who had lived in the dayes of Queen Marie and Queen Elizabeth, and said her prayers dayly both in Latine and English, and Let God, said she, take to him-

felf which he likes best.

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But worst are those who serve the times out of meer affectation. Doing as the times do, not because the times do as they should do, but meetly for finister respects, to ingratiate *Lord Bason themselves. We read of an Earl of * Oxford fined by King in Henry se-

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Henrie

Henrie the seventh fisteen thousand Marks for having too many Retainers. But how many Retainers hath Time had in all ages? and Servants in all Offices? yea and Chaplains too?

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It is a very difficult thing to serve the times; they change so frequently, so suddenly, and sometimes so violently from one extreme to another. The times under Dioclesian were Pagan; under Constantine, Christian; under Constantius, Arian; under Julian, Apostate; under Jovian, Christian again; and all within the age of man, the term of seventy years. And would it not have wrench'd and spraind his soul with short turning, who in all these should have been of the Religion for the time being?

11

Time-servers are oftentimes left in the lurch. If they do not only give their word for the times in their constant discourses, but also give their bands for them, and write in their defence. Such, when the times turn afterwards to another extreme, are lest in the briers, and come off very hardly from the bill of their hands; if they turn again with the times none will trust them; for who will make a staff of an osier?

12

Miserable will be the condition of such Time-servers when their Master is taken from them. When, as tthe Angel swore Rev. 10.6. that Time shall be no longer. Therefore it is best serving of him who is eternity, a Master that can ever protect us.

To conclude he that intends to meet with one in a great Fair, and knows not where he is, may sooner find him by standing still in some principall place there, then by traversing it up and down. Take thy stand on some good ground in Religion, and keep thy station in a fixed posture, never hunting after the times to follow them, and an hundred to one, they will come to thee once in thy life time.

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CHAP. 20.

Of Moderation.

TOderation is * the filken string running through the pearl. * Bishop Hall chain of all virtues. It appears both in Practice, and of Christian, Judgement: we will insist on the latter, and describe it first pag. 6.

negatively:

Moderation is not an halting betwixt two opinions, when the through-believing of one of them is necessary to salvation: no pity is to be shown to such voluntary cripples. We reade (Acts 27. 12.) of an Haven in Crete which lay toward the South-West. and towards the North West: strange, that it could have part of two opposite points, North, and South, sure, it must be very winding. And thus some mens souls are in such intricate postures, they lay towards the Papists, and towards the Protestants; such we count not of a moderate judgement, but of an immoderate unsettlednesse.

Nor is it a lukewarmnesse in those things wherein Gods glory is concernd. Herein it's a true Rule, * Non amat qui non zelat. And Augustin. they that are thus lukewarm here shall bee too hot hereafter manteap. 13. in that oven wherein Dow-bak'd cakes shall be burnt.

But it is a mixture of discretion and charity in ones judgement. Discretion puts a difference betwixt things absolutely necesfary to salvation to be done and believed, and those which are of a second sort and lower form, wherein more liberty and latitude is allowed. In maintaining whereof, the stiffnesse of the judgement is abated, and suppled with charity towards his neighbour. The lukewarm man eyes onely his own ends, and particular profit; the moderate man aims at the good of others, and unity of the Church.

Yet such moderate men are commonly crush'd betwixt the extreme parties on both sides. But what said Ignatius ? * I am Christs | * trenam 46. Wheat, and must be ground with the teeth of beasts, that I may be made Gods pure manchet. Saints are born to suffer, and must take it patiently. Besides, in this world generally they get the least preferment; it faring with them as with the guest

Maxime I

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that sat in the midst of the table, who could reach to neither messe, above or beneath him:

Esuriunt Medii, Fines bene sunt saturati;
Dixerunt stulti, Medium tenuere beati.
Both ends o'th' table surnish'd are with meat,
Whilst they in middle nothing have to eat.
They were none of the wisest well I wist,
Who made blisse in the middle to consist.

Yet these temporall inconveniences of moderation are abundantly recompensed with other better benefits: for

- A well inform'd judgement in it self is a preferment.

 Potamon began a sect of Philosophers called * 'Example, who wholly adhered to no former sect, but chose out of all of them what they thought best. Surely such Divines, who in unimporting controversies extract the probablest opinions from all Prosessions, are bestar case in their minds.
- 2 As the moderate mans temporall hopes are not great fo his fears are the lesse. He sears not to have the splinters of his party (when it breaks) slie into his eyes, or to be buried under the ruines of his side if suppress. He never pinn'd his religion on any mans sleeve, no not on the Arm of sleeph, and therefore is free from all dangerous engagements.
- His conscience is clear from raising Schismes in the Church. The Turks did use to wonder much at our English men for * pinking or cutting their clothes, counting them little better then mad for their pains to make holes in whole cloth, which time of it self would tear too soon. But grant men may do with their own garments, as their phancy adviseth them: yet wo be to such who willingly cut and rend the seamlesse Coat of Christ with diffentions.
- 4 His religion is more constant and dvrable; being here, in via, in his way to Heaven, and jogging on a good Travellers pace he overtakes and out-goes many violent men, whose over-hot ill-grounded Zeal was quickly tired.

* Diog. Lacrt. in fine Proc-

* Bidulph. in bis travell to Ferufalem, pag. 98. 5 In matters of moment indeed none are more Zealous. He thriftily treasur'd up his spirits for that time, who if he had formerly rent his lungs for every trifle, he would have wanted breath in points of importance.

6 Once in an age the moderate man is in fashion, Each extreme courts him to make them friends; and furely he hath a great advantage to be a Peace-maker betwixt opposite parties. Now whilest as we have said, moderate men are constant to themselves,

Violent men reel from one extremity to another. Who would think that the East and West Indies were so near together, whose names speak them at diametrical opposition? And vet their extremities are either the same Continent for parted with a very narrow Sea. As the world is round To we may observe a circulation in opinions, and Violent men turn often round in their tenets.

Pride is the greatest enemy to Moderation. This makes men stickle for their opinions, to make them fundamentall: Proud men having deeply studied some additionall point in Divinity, will strive to make the same necessary to salvation, to enhanse the value of their own worth and pains; and it must be fundamentall in religion, because it is sundamentall to their reputation. Yea as love doth descend, and men doat most on their Grandchildren, so these are indulgent to the deductions of their deductions, and consequential inferences to the seventh generation, making them all of the foundation, though scarce of the building of religion. * Ancient Fathers made the Creed Symbolum, the shot and totall Terrull. de summe of Faith. Since which how many Arrearages, and Hilarius ad after-reckonings have men brought us in? to which if we guft. Taur. will not pay our belief, our souls must be arrested without Maxim.ferm. bail upon pain of damnation. Next to Pride popular Ap- August. serm. planse is the greatest soe Moderation hath, and sure they De Tempore. who fail with that wind have their own vain glory for their Haven.

To close up all, Let men on Gods blessing foundly, yet wisely, whip and lash Lukewarmnesse and Time-serving,

their

* Ambros. de pæniten. contra Novat. lib. 1.cap.1. their thongs will never flie in the face of true Moderation, to do it any harm; for however men may undervalue it, that * Father spake most truly, Si virtutum finis ille sit maximus, qui plurimorum spectat profectum, Moderatio prope omnium pulcherrima est.

CHAP. 21.

Of Gravitie.

Ravity is the ballast of the soul, which keeps the mind steeddy. It is either true, or counterfeit.

Maxime I

Naturall dulnesse, and heavinesse of temper, is sometimes mistaken for true Gravity. In such men in whose constitutions one of the tetrarch Elements fire may seem to be omitted. These sometimes not only cover their desects, but get praise:

Sape latet vitium proximitate boni-

They do wisely to counterfeit a reservednesse, and to keep their chests alwayes lock'd, not for fear any should steal treasure thence, but lest some should look in, and see that there is nothing within them. But they who are born Eunuchs deserve no such great commendation for their chastity. Wonder not much that such men are grave, but wonder at them if they be not grave.

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Affected Gravity passes of ten for that which is true: I mean with dull eyes, for in it self is nothing more ridiculous. When one shall use the preface of a mile, to bring in a furlong of matter, set his face and speech in a frame, and to make men believe it is some pretious liquor, their words come out drop by drop: such mens visards do sometimes fall from them, not without the laughter of the beholders. One was called Gravity for his affected solemnesse, who afterwards being catch'd in a light prank was ever after to the day of his death called Gravity-levity.

True Gravity expresseth it self in Gate, Gesture, Apparell, and Speech.

That may he done privately without breach of Gravity, which may not be done publickly. As when a father makes himself his childs rattle, sporting with him till the father hath devour'd the wise man in him.

fire-salt, speaking constant satyres to the disgrace of

Equitans in arundine longa. In stead of stately steed, Riding upon a Reed.

others.

Making play unto him, that one would think he kill'd

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God alone is the giver of all Gravity. No man wants so

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much of any grace as he hath to spare; and a constant impression of Gods omnipresence is an excellent way to fix mens souls. Bishop Andrews ever placed the picture of * Mulcaster his Schoolmaster over the door of his study funerall ferm. (whereas in all the rest of his house you should scarce see a picture) as to be his Tutour and Supervisour. Let us constantly apprehend Gods being in presence, and this will fright us into stayed behaviour.

CHAP. 22.

Of Marriage.

Ome men have too much decried Marriage, as if she the mother were scarce worthy to wait on Virginity her daughter, and as if it were an advancement for Marriage to be preferr'd before fornication, and praise enough for her to be adjudged lawfull. Give this holy estate her due, and then we shall find,

Though batchelours be the strongest stakes, married men are the Maxime 1 hest binders in the hedge of the Common-wealth. 'Tis the Policy of the Londoners when they send a ship into the Levant or Mediterranean Sea, to make every Marriner therein a Merchant, each seaman adventuring somewhat of his own, which will make him more wary to avoid, and more vahant to undergo dangers. Thus married men, especially if having posterity, are the deeper sharers in that state wherein they live, which engageth their affections to the greater loyalty.

It is the worst claudestine marriage when God is not invited to it. Wherefore before hand beg his gratious affiftance. Marriage shall prove no lottery to thee, when the hand of providence chuseth for thee, who, if drawing a Blank, can turn it into a prize by fanctifying a bad wife unto thee.

Deceive not thy self by overexpecting happiness in the married estate. Look not therein for contentment, greater then God

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will give, or a creature in this world can receive, namely to be free from all inconveniences. Marriage is not like the hill Olympus, δλ λαμπρίs, wholly clear, without clouds; yea expect both wind and storms sometimes, which when blown over, the air is the clearer, and wholsomer for it. Make ac. count of certain cares and troubles which will attend thee, Remember the Nightingales which fing only some months in the spring, but commonly are silent when they have hatch'd their egs, as if their mirth were turned into care for their young ones. Yet all the molestations of Marriage are abundantly recompenced with other comforts which God bestoweth on them, who make a wife choice of a wife, and observe the following rules.

Let Grace and Goodnesse be the principall loadstone of thy affections. For love which hath ends will have an end, where. as that which is founded in true vertue will alwayes continue, Some hold it unhappy to be married with a diamond ring, perchance (if there be so much reason in their folly) because the diamond hinders the roundnesse of the ring, ending the infinitenesse thereof, and seems to presage some termination in their love, which ought ever to endure, and

so it will, when it is founded in religion.

Neither chase all, nor not at all for Beauty. A cryed up Beauty makes more for her own praise then her husbands profit. They tell us of a floating Island in Scotland: but fure no wife pilot will cast anchot there, lest the land swim away with his ship. So are they served (and justly enough) who only fasten their love on fading Beauty, and both fail together.

Let there be no great disproportion in age. They that marry ancient people meerly in expectation to bury them, hang themlelyes in hope that one will come and cut the halter. Nor is Gods ordinance but mans abusing thereof taxed in this homely expression, used by the Apostle himself. If Virginity enforced above the parties power be * termed by S. Paul 1 Cor. 7.35. a snare or balter, marriage is no better when

against ones will, for private respects.

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* 'Ουχ ϊνα Εςόχον δμίν Επεάλω, 1 Cor. 7.35.

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2 Sam. 13.30 Davids sons, and * Fame kill'd all the rest; and generally the magnifies and multiplies matters. Loud was that lie which that bell told hanging in a clock-house at Westminster, and usually rung at the Coronation and Funeralls of Princes, having this inscription about it,

King Edward made me thirty thousand and three, Take me down and weigh me and more shall you find me.

But when this bell was taken down at the dooms-day of Abbeys, this and two more were found not to weigh * twenty thousand. Many relations of Fame are found to

Thrink accordingly.

* Stows Survey of London, pag. 528.

3

Some Fames are most difficult to trace home to their form: and those who have sought to track them, have gone rather in a circle then forward, and oftentimes through the doubling of reports have return'd back again where they began. Fame being a bastard or filia populi, 'tis very hard to find her father, and oftentimes she hath rather all then any for her first Authors.

4

Politicians sometimes raise Fames on purpose. As that such things are done already, which they mean to do afterwards. By the light of those false fires they see into mens hearts, and these false rumours are true scouts to discover mens dispositions. Besides, the deed (though strange in it self) is done afterwards with the leffe noise, men having vented their wonder beforehand, and the strangenesse of the action is abated, because formerly made stale in report. But if the rumour startles men extremely, and draws with it dangerous consequences, then they can presently consute it, let their intentions fall and profecute it no further.

The Papall side of all Fame-merchants drive the most gainfull trade, as that worthy * Knight hath given us an exact Survey thereof. But long before them, strange was that plot of Stratocles, who gave it out that he had gotten a victory, and the constant report thereof continued three dayes, and then was confuted; and Stratocles being charged with abusing

S. Edward Sandys view of the West Religions, pag. 100.

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his people with a lie, Why faid * he) are ye angry with me for | Plutarehs Політна тарmaking you passe three dayes in mirth and jollity more then otherwise arranuala. you (hould :

Incredible is the swiftness of Fame in carrying reports. First she creeps thorow a village, then she goes thorow a town, then the runs thorow a city, then the flyes thorow a country, still the farther the faster. Yea Christ who made the dumb speak, made not tell-tale Fame silent, though charging those he cured to hold their peace, * but so much the more went there a Lukes is. Fame abroad of him. Yea some things have been reported soon. as ever they were done at impossible distance. The overthrow of Perseus was brought out of Macedon to Rome in * four dayes. And in Domitians time a report was brought *Livy. lib. 45. two thousand five hundred miles in one day. In which accidents,

1 Fame takes post on some other advantage. Thus the overthrow of the Sabines was known at Rome prius pene quam nunciari possit, by the means of the * arms of * Livy, lib. 1. the Sabines drowned in the River of Tiber, and carried down by the tide to Rome. And thus Anno * 1568. * Famian. the overthrow which the Spaniards gave the Dutch at Strada de Bello Belgie, lib. 5. the river of Ems was known at Groening before any p.456. horsman could reach thither, by the multitude of the Dutch caps which the river brought down into the city. But these conveyances are but slugs to make such miraculous speed: wherefore sometimes reports are carryed,

2 By the ministration of Spirits. The devils are well at leasure to play such pranks, and may do it in a frolick. And yet they would scarce be the carriers except they were well paid for the portage, getting some profit thereby (doing of mischief is all the profit they are capable of) and do harm to some by the suddennesse of thole reports. Or elle

3 The Fame is antedated and rail'd before the fact, being related at guesse before 'twas acted. Thus some have been caustally commended for early rising in the morning, morning, who indeed came to their journeys end over night. It such foremade reports prove true, they are admired and registred; if false, neglected and forgotten: as those only which escaped shipwrack hung up votivas tabulas, tablets with their names in those Haven-towns where they came ashore. But as for those who are drowned, their memorials are drowned with them.

7

Generall reports are seldome false. Vox populi vox Dei. A body of that greatnesse hath an eye of like clearnesse, and it is impossible that a wanderer with a counterfeit passe should

passe undiscovered.

8

A fond fame is best consuted by neglecting it. By Fond understand such a report as is rather ridiculous then dangerous if believed. It is not worth the making a Schisme betwix News-mongers to set up an antifame against it. Yea seriously and studiously to endeavour to consute it, will grace the rumour too much, and give suspicion that indeed there is some reality in it. What madnesse were it to plant a piece of ordinance to beat down an aspen leaf, which having alwayes the palsie, will at last fall down of it self. And Fame hath much of the scold in her; the best way to silence her is to be silent, and then at last she will be out of breath with blowing her own trumpet.

9

Fame sometimes reports things less then they are. Pardon her for offending herein, she is guilty so seld ome. For one kingdome of Scotland, which (they say) Geographers describe an hundred miles too short; most Northern Countries are made too large. Fame generally overdoes, underdoes but in some particulars. The Italian proverb hath it, There is less honesty, wisdome, and money in men then is counted on: yet sometimes a close churl, who locks his coffers so fast Fame could never peep into them, dyeth richer then he was reported when alive. None could come near to feel his estate; it might therefore cut fatter in his purse, then was expected. But Fame falls most short in those Transcendents, which are above her Predicaments; as in Solomons wisdome: And

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behold one half was not told me: thy wisdome and prosperity exceedeth the Fame that I heard. But chiefly in fore-reporting the Happinesse in heaven, which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entred into the heart of man to conceive.

CHAP. 24.

Of the Antiquity of Churches and Necessity of them.

E will confider their Antiquity amongst the Jews, Heathens, and Christians. Now temples amongst the lews were more or leffe ancient as the acception of the word is straiter or larger.

Take Temple for a covered standing structure, and the fews had Maxime I none till the time of Solomon, which was from the beginning of the * world about two thousand nine hundred thirty two years: till then they had neither leave nor liberty to build a Temple. For the Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob. lived in Pilgrimage; their posterity in Egypt in persecution; their children in the Wildernesse in constant travelling: their Successors in Canaan in continuall warfare, till the dayes of Solomon.

Take Templum for tectum * amplum, a large place covered to serve God therein, and the Tabernacle was a moveable Temple, built by Moses in the Wildernesse about the year of the world two thousand four hundred fiftie five, Yea we find Gods Spirit styling this Tabernacle a Temple, 1 Sam. 1. 9. Ely the Priest sate upon a seat by a pillar of the Temple, 1 Sam.3.3. Before the lamp of the Lord went out in the Temple. Such a portable Church Constantine * had carried about with him when sozomen. lib. he went to war.

Gods children had places with Altars to serve God in before they bad any Temples. Such Altars seem as ancient as Sacrifices, both which aretwins; and in Relatives find one and find both.

* Vid. Chron.

* Ifidorus lib. 15.cap.14.

* Socrates lib. I. cap. 8.

* Rivet. in Ge. nef. pag. 275. both. Indeed the first Altar we read of in Scripture is that which Noah built after the Floud: But hear what a * Learned man saith thereof, Non tamen existimandum toto illo tempore, quo ante diluvium pii homines Deo sacrificarunt Altarium usum suisse incognitum. Potius id credendum, Noachum sequutum suisse exemplum eorum, qui eum præcesserant, imo morem inositum.

4

* Hospinian. de orig. Temp. cap.4. The Iews besides the Temple had many other Synagogues, serving in stead of Chappels of ease to the mother Church at Jeru. salem. In the new Testament (the Temple yet standing) is plain that Christ often graced such Synagogues with his presence and preaching; and its *probable they were in use ever since Josuahs time, when the land was first inhabited with Israelites, and that the Levites dispersed all over the Land did teach the people therein: Otherwise Palestine was a great Parish, and some therein had an hundred miles to Church; besides, peoples souls were poorly sed having but three meals in a year, being but thrice to appear at Jeru. salem.

5

Many Heathen Temples were ancienter then that of Solomons, Amongst which Pagan Temples there is much justling for precedency, though some think that of Apis in Egypt shews the best evidence for her seniority, wherein was worshipped an Oxe, of whose herd (not to say breed) was the Cast which the Israelites worshipped in the wildernesse, being made in imitation thereof. But the Heathen had this grosse conceit, that their Gods were affixt to their Statues, as their Statues were confined in their Temples: So that in essentiating did not so much build Temples for their Gods, as thereby lay Nets to catch them in, inviting them thither as into a Pallace, and then keeping them there as in a Prison.

6

Most civilized Heathen Nations had Temples for their Gods. I say Most, for the Persians are said to have none at all. Perchance it was because they chiefly worshipped the Sunne, and then according to the generall opinion of fixing Deities to their Temples, it was in vain to erect and structure therein to restrain and keep his Ubiquitary beams. And yet that the Persians were wholly Temple-lesse will hardly be belie-

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ved, seeing the Assyrians on this side (* Senacherib was * 2. Kings 19. killed worshipping in the house of Nisroch his God) and the Indians on the other fide of them had their Temples erected, as some will have it, by Bacchus their Dionysius: yea we find a Temple in Persia dedicated to * Nanea in the time of Antiochus: and though it may be pretended that the influence of the Grecian Empire on the Persians had then spiced them with a smack of Grecisme, yet Nanea will scarce be proved any Grecian Deity: not to say any thing of the Temple of Bell. Civilized: for as for the Scythian wandring Nomades, Temples forted not with their condition, as wanting both civility and setlednesse: and who can expect Churches from them, who had no houles for themselves? Lastly I say, Nation: for the Stoicks onely, a conceited feet, forbad any building of Temples, either out of derision of the common deceit that Deities were kept in durance in their Temples; or elle out of humour, because they counted the generall practice of other men a just ground for their contrary opinion. And now we come to the Antiquity of Christian Churches, and crave leave of the Reader, that we may for a while distolve our continued discourle into a dialogue,

A. I am much perplexed to find the beginning of Christian Churches in the Scripture. There I find the Saints meeting in the house of Marie the Mother of Mark; in the School of Tyrannus, in an upper Chamber; but can see no foundation of a Church, I mean of a place and structure seperated and set a part solely for Divine

Service.

B. That the Saints had afterwards Churches in your lense is plain: 1 Cor. 11.22. Have ye not Houses to eat and drink in, or despise ye the Church of God, and shame them that have not? Here the opposition is a good exposition of the Apostles meaning, and the Antithesis betwixt Houses and Church speakes them both to be locall; so that S. Paul thought their materiall Church despised, that is abused and unreverenc'd, by their lay meeting of Lovefeasts therein.

* 2. Maccabees I.13 vide etiam. 1. Maccab. A. By your favour, Sr, the Apostle by Church meaneth there the assembly or society of Gods servants, as appears by what followeth, or despise ye the Church of God, and shame them that have not? Them, and not that, not speaking of the Place but Persons: The latter words of the Apostle comment on the former, shewing how to shame those who had not (that is, to neglect and upbraid the poore) is to despise the Church of God.

B. Pardon me, Sr, for the Apostle therein accuseth the Corinthians of a second fault. Inprimis he chargeth them for despising Gods materiall Church; Item, for shaming their poore brethren in their Love-seasts. The particle And sheweth the addition of a new charge, but no expounding or amplifying of the former. But, Sr, suspending our judgements herein, let us descend to the Primitive times before Constantine, we shall there find Churches without any contradiction.

A. Not so neither: Herein also the trumpet of Antiquity giveth a very uncertain sound: Indeed we have but little left of the story of those times wherein Christian books were as much persecuted as men, and but a sew Confessour-records escaping martyrdome are come to our hands. Yea God may seem to have permitted the suppression of primitive History, less men should be too studious in reading, and observant in practising the customes of that age, even to the neglecting and

undervaluing of his written Word.

B. Yet how stenderly soever those Primitive times are storied, there is enough in them to prove the Antiquity of Churches. I will not instance on the decrees of Euaristus, Hyginus, and other Popes in the first three hundred years about the consecrating of Churches, because their authority is suspected as antedated; and none are bound to believe that the Gibeonites came from so far a Countrey as their mouldy bread and clouted shoes did pretend. Churches are plainly to be found in Tertuillian, two hundred years after Christ;

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and Eusebius * witnesseth that before the time of Dioclesian the Christians had Churches, which the Tyrant origen. 14. caused to be destroyed.

A. But * Origen, Minutius Felix, Arnobius, and Lactantius, being pressed by the Heathen that Christians had no Churches, answered by way of Confession, yielding that they had none. This is the difficulty perplex. eth me. It was a bloudy speech of Abner, Let the young men rife up and play before us: But worse is their cruelty who make sport at the falling out of the old men, when the reverend brows of Antiquity knock one against another, and Fathers thus extremely differ in matters of fact.

B. Why, Sr? A charitable distinction may reconcile them: if by Churches, stately magnificent Fabricks be meant, in that acception the Christians had no Churches: but small Oratories and Prayer-places they then had, though little, low, and dark, being so fearfull of persecution they were jealous the Sunne-beams should behold them: and indeed stately Churches had but given a fairer aim to their enemies malice to hit them. Such an homely place learned S' Henry Spelman * prefents us with, which was first founded at Glassenbury, thatched and wattled: And let not our Churches now grown men look with a scornfull eye on their own picture, when Babes in their swadling Clothes. And Brittanpag. 11, no wonder if Gods Houle

Erubuit domino cultior esse suo,

The Church did blush more glory for to have

Then had her Lord. He begg'd, should she be brave? Christ himself being then cold, and hungry, and naked in his afflicted members. Such a mean Oratory Tertullian calls * Triclinium Christianorum, The Parlour or Three-bed-room of the Christians.

A. But it seems not to consist with Christian ingenuity for the fore-named Fathers absolutely to deny their having of Churches, because they had onely poor ones.

* Hift. Ecclef. lib. 8.cap. 1.

Contra Celsum, Objicie nobis Cellus quod non habeamus Imagines aut Aras aut Templa. Idem lib. 8. contra Celfum, Celfus & Aras & Simulacra & Delubra ait nos defugere quo minus fundentur. Arnobius lib. 4. Contra Gen. Accufatis nos quòd nee Templa habeamus, nec Imagines nec Minut. Felix. pag. 73 Putatis autem

nos occultare quod colamus fi Delubra & Aras non habemus. La Tantina Quid fibi Templa, quid Arz volunt, quid denique ipsa Simulacra,

* De Concilis

* Adver fus Gentes, cap. 3.9.

B. Take

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B. Take then another Answer, namely in denying these had no Temples, they meant it in the same notion wherein they were interrogated, to wit, they had no Temples like the Pagans for heathen gods, no claustra Numinum, wherein the Deity they served was imprisoned. Or may we not say that in that age the Christians had no Churches Generally, though they might have them in some places? the elevation of their happinesse being varied according to severall climates: And Christendome then being of so large an extent, it might be stormy with persecution in one countrey, and fair weather in another. We come now to the Necessity.

There is no absolute necessity that Christians should have Churches. No necessity at all in respect of God, no absolute necessity in respect of men, when persecution hinders the erecting of them: In such a case any place is made a Church for the time being, as any private house where the King and

his Retinue meet is presently made the Court.

Christians have no direct precept to build Churches under the Gospel. I say direct: for the Law of God, which commands a publick Sanctification of a Sabbath, must needs, by * way of necessary consequence, imply a set, known, and publick Place. Besides, Gods command to Moses and Solomon to build a Temple in a manner obligeth us to build Churches. In which command observe the body and the soul thereof. The body thereof was Ceremoniall and mortall, yea dyed, and is buried in our Saviours grave: The foul thereof is Morall and eternall, as founded in Nature, and is alwayes to endure. Thus S. Paul finds a constant bank for Ministers Maintenance lockt up in a Ceremonial Law. Thou shalt not muzzle the Mouth Of the Ox that treadeth out the corn. The Apostle on the Morality couched therein founded the Charter of endowment for Ministers in the Gospel. Besides, God hath lest a warrant dormant with his Church, Let all things be done decently and in order. And this ties Christians to the building of Churches for their publick affemblies, whereby not onely Decency

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* 12t communes fidelibus
preces Deus
verbo fuo edicit. fic &
Templa publica ipfis peragendis dettinata effe oportet, Calvin, Infit. lib. 3. cap.
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Decency but Piety is so much advanced, especially in these three respects:

I Hereby the same meat serves to feed many guests, one Pastour instructing many people in the same place.

2 Devotion is increased with company. Their praises are the louder; and Musick is sweetest in a full consort: their prayers are the stronger, besetting God as it were in a round, and not suffering him to depart till he hath blessed them. * Hee vis grata Deo.

3 The very Place it self, being dedicated to Gods service, is a Monitour to them Hoc agere, and stirres up pious thoughts in them. Say not, it is but lame Devotion that cannot mount without the help of such a wooden stock; rather tis lame indeed which is not raised, though having the advantage thereof.

Those that may, must frequent the publick Churches. Such as nowadayes are ambitious of conventicles are deeply guilty: for as it had been desperate madnesse in time of persecution publickly to resort to divine Service, so it is no lesse unthankfulnesse to God now, to serve him in woods and holes, not taking notice of the liberty of the Gospel, which he graciously hath vouchsafed; yea such people in estect deny the King to be a Desender of the Faith, but make him a Persecuter rather, in that they dare not avouch the truth in the face of his Authority. If it be good they do (thanks be to God) it may be done any where; if bad, it must be done no where. Besides, by their voluntary private meetings, they give occasions to many to suspect their actions there: And

luspicion, as from the guilt of any dishonesty.

We should now come to speak of the Holinesse, Reverence, Decency, and Magniscencie of Churches: But herein I had rather hear the judgements of other men. Let it serve in stead of a conclusion to observe that Solomons Temple

grant them unjustly traduced for their behaviour therein, yet

can they not justly be excused, because they invite slaunder-

ous tongues to censure them, in not providing for honest things

in the fight of men, and clearing Gods service as well from the

* Tertull.
Apol.

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was

* 1. Kings 5.

was the statelyest structure that ever was or shall be in the world; built by the wealthiest, contrived by the wifest King in feven years (now counted the life of a man) by an army of Workmen, no fewer then * one hundred fourtie three thousand three hundred, of the soundest timber, most pretious stones, most proper metall, as the nature of the things required; either the strongest, Brasse; or the richest, Gold: In a word, Earth gave it most costly matter, and Heaven it felf most curious workmanship, God directing them. And though Solomon had no mines of Gold and Silver in his own land, yet had he the spoils and Gifts of the neighbouring nations, and once in three years the golden land of Ophir came swimming to Hierusalem. God being the Landlord of the earth, Solomon was then his Receiver, to whom the World payed in her rent, to build his Temple. And was not he a most wealthy King, in whose dayes silver was nothing accounted of; feeing in our dayes the commander of both Indyes hath so much brasse coin currant in his Court? As for Josephus his conceit, that the second edition of the Temple by Zorobabel, as it was new forrelled and filleted with gold by Herod, was a statelier volume then the first of Solomon, it is too weak a furmife to have a confutation fastned to it.

And yet we will not deny but the world hath seen greater buildings for the Piles and Fabricks, as may appear by this parallel

2.6bron.3.3.
b Plin. nat.
Mift. lib. 36.
cap. 14.
cap. 14.
3. de vit. Gonflantini, c. 24.
"Y. arespor
panes of the propanes of the pro

Gods Temple, built at Hierusalem by Solomon.

Long 60 Rubits.

High 30 Cubits.

Diana's Temple, built at Ephefus by the Kings of Asia.

Long 425 Broad 220 foot.

Sepulchre Church, built on Mount Calvary by Constantine.

Broad We find no fet din en fina but hyperbolical expressions of it.

4 S. Sophia's

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S. Sophia's Church, built at Constantinople by Justinian.

S. Pauls Church, built at London by King

Ethelbert.

6 Turkish Mosque, built at Fez.

Long 2602 Broad 75 > foot. High 1805

Long 6907 Broad 1 30 > foot. High 1025

Long 1507 Broad 80>Florentine High Cubits.

But when the Reader hath with his eyes surveyed these Temples, and findeth them to exceed Solomons, yet let him remember, first, that there is nothing more uncertain then the measures used in severall countreys; one countreys span may be another countres cubit, and the toe of one countrey as big as the foot of another: secondly, that in Solomons Temple great cubits were meant, Prima mensura, 2. Chron. 3.3. thirdly, that we see most of these structures onely through the magnifying glasse of Fame, or else by the eyes of Travellers, who usually count the best they ever saw to be the best was ever seen, yea in charity will lend a Church some hundreds of feet to help out the dimension thereof, as Bellonius a modern eye-witnesse counteth * three hundred sixty * Lib. 1, obfive doores in the present Church of Sophia, which hath but foure, as an exact * Traveller hath observed. Lastly, *G. Sandys whilest humane Historians will overlash for the honour of 32. their own Nations, we know it must needs be true what Truth hath written of Solomons Temple.

d Evagrins lib. 1. cap 30. e Namely in the body of the Church besides the fteeple. Camba. Brit. in Middlefex. f The Height we find not, but it is a mile and half in compase, Leo Africanus, lib. 3. pag. 126,

CHAP. 25.

Of Ministers maintenance.

A Aintenance of Ministers ought to be Plentifull, Cer-LVI tain, and in some sort Proportionable to their deserts, It should be Plentifull, because

Their education was very chargeable to fit them for their professi- Maxime I on, both at School, and in the University: their books very T 4 dear,

dear, and those which they brought in Folio, shrink quickly into quarto's, in respect of the price their executours can get for them. Say not that Scholars draw needlesse expences on themselves by their own lavishnesse, and that they should rather lead a fashion of thrist, then follow one of riot; for let any equal man tax the bill of their necessary charges, and it amounts to a great Summe, yea though they be never so good husbands. Besides, the prizes of all commodities dayly rise higher; all persons and professions are raised in their manner of living: Scholars therefore, even against their wills, must otherwhiles be involved in the generall expensivenesse of the times; it being impossible that one spoke should stand still, when all the wheel turns about.

Ob. But many needlessely charge themselves in living too long in the University, sucking so long of their Mo. ther, they are never a whit the wiser for it; whilest others not staying there so long, nor going through the porch of humane Arts, but entring into Divinity at the postern, have made good Preachers, providing their people wholesome meat, though not so finely

dreft.

Answ. Much good may it do their very hearts that feed on it. But how necessary a competent knowledge of those Sciences is for a perfect Divine, is known to every wise man. Let not mens suffering be counted their fault, nor those accused to stand idle in the market whom no man hath bired. Many would leave the University sooner, if called into the countrey on tolerable conditions.

* Numb. 22. 22. * Judges 19. Because Ministers are to subsist in a free, liberall, and comfortable way. Balaam the false Prophet rode with his *two men; Gods Levite had * one man. Oh let not the Ministers of the Gospel be slaves to others, and servants to themselves! They are not to prie into gain through every small chink. It becomes them rather to be acquainted with the natures of things, then with the prises, and to know them rather as they are in the world then as they are in the market. Otherwise,

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mens hearts into charity with the Scarefire of Purgato. ry: And for justice now to give back what holy fraud had gotten away, is not Sacriledge but Restitution. And when those grand and vast Donations were given to the Church, there was (as some say) a voice of Angels heard from heaven, saying, Hodie venenum

in Ecclefiam Christi cecidit.

Answ. If poylon then fell into the Church, fince hath there a strong antidote been given to expell it, especial. ly in Impropriations. Distinguish we betwixt such Donations given to uses in themselves merely unlawfull and superstitious, as praying for the dead, and the like; and those which in Genere were given to Gods Service, though in Specie some superstitious ends were annexed thereto. And grant the former of these to be void in their very granting, yet the latter ought to be rectified and reduced to the true use, and in no case to be alienated from God. Plato faith that in his time it was a Proverb amongst children, Two oppos soferm & esu apaipeois, Things that are truly given must not be taken away again. Sure as our Saviour set a child in the midft of his Disciples to teach them humility, so now adayes a child need be set in the midst of some men to teach them justice. Excellently * Luther, Nisi superesset spolium Aegypti, quod rapuimus Papæ, omnibus Ministris Verbi fame pereundum effet; quod si sustentandi essent de contributione populi, misere profecto ac duriter viverent. Alimus ergo de spoliis Aegypti collectis sub Papatu, & hoc ipsum tamen quod reliquum est diripitur à Magistratu: Spoliantur Parochia Scholæ, non aliter ac si fame necare nos velint.

Ob, But in the pure Primitive times the Means were least, and Ministers the best: And nowadayes does not wealth make them lazy, and poverty keep them painfull? like Hawks they flie best when sharp. The best way to keep the stream of the Clergy sweet and clear is to fence out the tide of wealth from coming unto

them.

Answ. Is

* In his Comment on the 47. of Genef. pag.63 1. m

Answ. Is this our thankfulnesse to the God of heaven, for turning perfecution into peace, in pinching his poore Ministers? When the Common-wealth now makes a feast, shall neither Zadok the Priest, nor Nathan the Prophet be invited to it? that so the sootsteps of Primitive persecution may still remain in these peaceable times, amongst the Papists, in their needlesse burning of candles; and amongst the Protestants, in the poore means of their Ministers. And what if some turn the spurres unto virtue into the stirrups of Pride, grow idle and insolent? let them soundly suffer for it themselves on Gods blessing; but let not the bees be sterved that the drones may be punished.

Ministers Maintenance ought to be certain; lest some of them meet with Labans for their Patrons and parishioners; changing their wages ten times; and at last, if the fear of God doth

not fright them, fend them away empty.

It is unequall that there should be an equality betwixt all Munisters Maintenance. Except that first their were made an equality betwixt all their Parts, Pains, and Piety. Parity in means will quickly bring a levell and flat in Learning; and sew will strive to be such spiritual Musicians, to whom David directeth many Psalms, To him that excelleth, but will even content themselves with a canonical sufficiency, and desiring no more then what the Law requires, more learning would be of more pains, and the same profit, seeing the mediocriter goeth abreast with optime.

Ob. But neither the best, nor the most painfull and learned get the best preferment. Sometimes men of the least, get Livings of the best worth; yea such as are not worthy to be the curates to their curates, and crassa Ingenia

go away with opima Sacer dotia.

Answ. Thus it ever was, and will be. But is this dust one.
ly to be found in Churches, and not in Civill Courts!
Is merit every where else made the exact square of preferment? or did ever any urge, that all Offices should be made champian for their profits, none higher then other?

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However

other? such corruptions will ever be in the Church, except there were a Law (ridiculous to be made, and impossible to be kept) that men should be no men, but that all Patrons or people in their Election or Presentations of Ministers should wholly devest themselves of by respects of kindred, friendship, profit, assertion, and merely chuse for desert: and then should we have all things so well ordered, such Pastours and such people, the Church in a manner would be Triumphant, whilest Militant. Till then, though the best livings light not alwayes on the ablest men, yet as long as there be such preferments in the Church, there are still encouragements for men to endeavour to excell, all hoping, and some hapning on advancement.

Ob. But Ministers ought to serve God merely for love of himself; and pity but his eyes were out that squints at

his own ends in doing Gods work.

Answ. Then should Gods best Saints be blind; for Moses himself had an eye to the recompence of reward. Yea Ministers may look not onely on their eternall but on their temporall reward, as motives to quicken their endeavours. And though it be true, that grave and pious men do study for learnings sake, and embrace virtue for it self, yet it is true that youth (which is the feason when learning is gotten) is not without ambition, nor will ever take pains to excell in any thing, when there is not hope of excelling others in the reward and dignity, And what reason is it that whilest Law and Physick are great portions to such as marry them, Divinity their eldest fister should onely be put off with her own beauty; In afterages men will rather bind their sonnes to one gainfull, then to seven liberall Sciences: onely the lowest of the people would be made Ministers, which cannot otherwise subsist: and it will be bad when Gods Church is made a Sanctuary onely for men of desperate estates to take retuge in it.

However let every Minister take up this resolution, To preach the word, to be instant in season, out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering & doctrine. It thou halt competent means comfortably to subsist on, be the more thankfull to God the fountain, to man the channell; painfull in thy place, pitifull to the poor, cheerfull in spending some, carefull in keeping the rest. If not, yet retire not for want of a spur: do something for love, and not all for mony; for love of God, of goodnesse, of the godly, of a good conscience. Know'tis better to want means, then to detain them; the one only fuffers, the other deeply fins: and it is as dangerous a persecution to religion, to draw the swell from it, as to cast water on it. Comfort thy felf that another world will pay this worlds debts, and great is thy reward with God in heaven. A reward, in respect of his promise; a gift, in respect of thy worthlesnesse: And yet the lesse thou lookest at it, the furer thou shalt find it, if labouring with thy self

furer thou shalt find it, if labouring with thy self to serve God for himself, in respect of whom even heaven it self is but a sinister end.

To the Reader.

Hese Generall Rules we have placed in the middle, that the Books on both sides may equally reach to them; because all Persons therein are indifferently concerned.

V

The





The Holy State.

THE FOURTH BOOK

CHAP. I.

The Favourite.



Favourite is a Court-diall, whereon all look whileft the King shines on him, and none, when it is night with him. A Minion differs from a Favourite, for He acts things by his own will and appetite, as a Favourite by the judgment and pleasure of his

Prince. These again are two-fold: either such as rely wholly on their Kings favour, or such as the King partly relies on their wildome, loving them rather for use then atfection. The former are like pretty wands in a Princes hand, for him to play with at pleasure; the latter, like staves, whereon he leans and supports himself in State-affairs.

God is the originall Patron of all preferment, all dignites being in his disposall. Promotion (* saith David) comes neither from the Bast, nor from the West, nor yet from the South. The word here translated South, in the Hebrew fignifies the Defert and such a course list bounded Palestine both on the South and * North, so rhat in effect preserment bloweth from no point * Tremellius on the verse. of the Compasse. True, every man is, fortune fue faber, the Smith to beat out his own fortune; but God first doth give him coals, iron, and anvil before he can fet up his trade.

The first inlet into a Princes knowledge is half way into his favour. Indeed

Maxime 1 * Pfal.75.7.

Indeed the heat of the sunne pierceth into the innermost bowels of the earth, but only the furface thereof is guilded with his beams : So though the influence of the Princes protection reacheth the utmost and obscurest man in his dominions, yet only some few, whio lie on the top of the heap of his subjects can be graced with his favour. He therefore that is known to his Prince, starts in the half way of his race to honour. A notable fellow, and a fouldier to Alexan. der, finding this first admission to be the greatest difficulty, put feathers into his nose and ears, and danced about the Court in an antique fashion, till the strangenesse of the Shew brought the King himself to be a spectatour. Then this Mimick throwing off his disguise, S' (said he to the King) thus I first arrive at your Majesties notice in the fashion of a fool, but can do you service in the place of a wife-man, if you please to employ me.

3

Tis the easier for them to leap into preferment, who have the rise of noble bloud: Such get their honour with more ease, and keep it with leffe envie, which is bufieft in maligning of up. starts. Nor is it any hinderance unto him, but rather an advantage, if such a Nobleman be of an ancient family, decayed in state through the fault of his Ancestours; for such, Princes count the object as well of their pity as favour, and it an act as well of charity as bounty to relieve and raise them: But those are in some sort born Favourites, and succeed by discent to a Princes affection (rather as a debt then a gist) whose Parents have formerly suffered in the Princes or his predecessours behalf. This made Queen Elizabeth first reflect on the Lord Norris, (for in the peaceable beginning of her raigne the Martiall spirits of his sonne were not yet raised because his father dyed her mothers Martyr, to attest her innocencie in the raigne of King Henry the eighth.

4

Several doors open to preferment, but the King keeps the key of them all. Some have been advanced for their Faces, their Beauty; their Heads, their Wisdom; their Tongues, their Eloquence; their Hands, their Valour; their Bloud, their Nobility; their

Feet,

Chap. 1.	The Favourite.	233
Happy the Favour as those which succ	esse, and Comlinesse in dancing; led on the Princes pleasure, ite that is raised without the ruine of an eed in a dead place, who draw less the keeping others out of the Kings se	other:
then those that cast that climbeth up by making his footing Sometimes the Pr	inces favour is all the known worth in t	lso he our, as he Fa-
more then he fees where he fees no France beheld fome	n: for he is an Infidel that believe, and that a rationall Prince will lovelinesse. Surely Charles the nite worth in Albertus Tudius (an Iom in five years, besides other hor	l love nth of Huck-
he gave fix hundred all the good the K by the Name of Go	thousand crowns) though some a ing got by him, was to learn to * d. Except we will say, that Kings the absolutenesse of their power, to	affirm Camerarius desire med, Hist.
them from nothing for nothing. But Pr flats of common r	, so of their will also, to advance inces have their grounds reard abonen, and who will search the reastand on an equall basis with them	them ve the ons of
Some Kings to m When amongst ma seventh by the Irish	ike a jest have advanced a man in e any Articles exhibited to King Hen against the Earl of Kildare, the las	earnest. 7 ary the twas,
King) shall this E puty thereof. But	cannot rule this Earl. Then (quot arl rule all Ireland; and made him fuch accidents are miraculous; all not eat till such Manna is dropt in	n De- pag. 271. nd he
ment, he standeth bi	full means soever he hath gotten his ad t in a slippery place; and therefore	needs
goes, and is in co his Princes anger, a low-fubjects envie.	ice-spurres, for he rather glides attinuall sear to be crush'd from about undermin'd from beneath by largainst both which see how he for the search of the s	ve by his fel-
himself.	V a	He

by

He praiseth God for preferring him, and prayeth to him to preserve him. His Greatnesse must needs fall which is not founded in goodnesse. First he serveth his God in heaven, and then his Master on earth. The best way to please all, or to displease them with least danger, is to please him who is all in all.

10

Next he studieth the alphabet of his Princes disposition: whose inclination when sound out is half sitted. Then he applyes himself to please his naturall, though not vitious, humours, never preferring himself before his Prince in any thing, wherein he desires or conceiveth himself to excell. Nero, though indeed but a Fidler, counted himself as well Emperour of musick as of Rome; and his followers too grossely did sooth him up in the admiration of his skill in that Art. But the most temperate Princes love to taste the sweetnesse of their own praises (if not overluscious with flattery) where their own deserts lay the groundwork, and their Favourites give the varnish to their commendations.

1:

Bluntnesse of speech hath becom'd some, and made them more acceptable: Yea this hath been counted Freeheartednesse, in Courtiers; Conscience and Christian simplicity, in Clergiemen: Valour, in Souldiers. I love thee the better (said Queen Elizabeth to Archbishop Grindall) because you live unmarried. And I, Madam, (replyed Grindall (because you live unmarried love you the worse. But those, who make musick with so harsh an instrument, need have their bow well rosen'd before, and to observe Time and Place, lest that gall which would tickle at other times.

12

He leaveth his Prince alwayes with an appetite, and never gluts him with his company. Sometimes taking occasion to depart, whilest still his staying might be welcome. Such intermissions render him more gratious; yet he absents himself neithe farre, nor long, least he might seem to neglect. Though he doth not alwayes spurre up close to the Kings side (to be constantly in his presence) he never lagges so sarre behind, as to be out of distance. Long absence hath drawn the curtain betwixt a Favourite and his Sovereign, and there-

Chap. 1, The Favourite.	233	
by hath made room for others to step in betwixt them. He doth not boldly engrosse and limit his masters favour unto kim- self. He is willing his Prince should shine beside him, but		
who, not content to be sole heirs to their Princes savour, grudge that any pensions should be allotted to their younger brethren. Why should it not as well be Treason to confine a Princes affection, as to imprison his person?		
He makes provident yet moderate use of his Masters favour. Especially if he be of a various nature, and loveth exchange, counting it not to stand with the state of a King to wear a Favourite thredbare. Too blame they, who thinking it will	14	
be continuall summer with them (as in the countrey under the Æquator) will not so much as frostnip their souls with a cold thought of want hereafter, and provide neither to ob-		
lige others, nor to maintain themselves: As bad they on the other side, who like those who have a lease, without impeachment of wast, speedily to expire, whip and strip, and rap and rend, whatsoever can come to their singers.		
He makes his estate invisible by purchasing reversions, and in remote countreyes. He hath a moderate estate in open view, that the world may settle their looks on't (for if they see nothing they will suspect the more) and the rest farre off and hereafter. The eyes of envy can never bewitch that which it	15	
doth not see. These reversions will be ripe for his heir, by that time his heir shall be ripe for them, and the money of distracted revenues will meet entirely in one purse.		
Having attained to a competent height, he had rather grow a but- treffe broader then a storie higher. He fortifieth himself by rai- sling outworks, and twisting himself by intermarriages of his kindred in noble Families: his Countenance will give all his Kinswomen beauty. Some Favourites, whose heels have	16	
been tript up by their adversaries, have with their hands held on their Allies, till they could recover their feet again.		
He makes not Great men dance envidious attendance to speak with him. Oh whilest their heels cool how do their hearts burn? Wherefore in the midst of the Term of his businesse he V 4 makes	17	

makes himself a vacation to speak with them. Indeed some difficulty of accesse and conference begets a reverence towards them in common people (who will suspect the ware not good if cheap to come by) and therefore he values himself in making them to wait: Yet he loves not to over-linger any in an afflicting hope, but speedily dispatcheth the fears or desires of his expecting Clients.

18

He loveth a good name, but will not wooe or court it otherwise, then as it is an attendant on honesty and virtue. But chiefly he avoydeth the sweet poyson of Popularity, wherewith some have swollen till they have broken. Especially, he declines the entertainment of many Martialists, the harsh counsell of souldiers being commonly untunable to the Court-way. I he immoderate resorting of military men to a Favourite (chiefly if by any palliation he pretends to the Crown) is like the flocking of so many ravens and vultures which foretell his funerall.

19

He preserves all inferiour Officers in the full rights and priviledges of their places. Some are so boysterous, no severalls will hold them, but lay all Offices common to their power; or else are so busie, that making many circles in other mens professions, they raise up ill spirits in them, and for every singer they needlessely thrust into other mens matters, shall find an hand against them, when occasion shall serve. As bad are they, who leaping over meaner persons to whom the businesse is proper, bring it per saltum to themselves, not suffering matters to run along in a legal channel, but in a byditch of their own cutting, so drawing the profit to themselves, which they drain from others.

20

If accused by his adversaries, he slies with speed to his Princes person. No better covert for a hunted Favourite to take to: where if innocent, with his loyall breath he easily dispelsall vapours of ill suggestions; if guilty, yet he is half acquitted, because judged by the Prince himself, whose compassion he moves by an ingentious confession. But if this Sanctuary-door be bolted against him, then his ruine is portended, and not long after.

He

Chap. 1. The Favourite.	235
He is a fish on the dry shore when the tide of his Masters love hath left him; so that if he be not the more wise, he will be made a prey to the next that finds him. Severall are the causes of Favourites falls, proceeding either from the Kings pleasure, their enemies malice, or their own default: different the degrees and manner of their ruine: some when grown too great are shifted under honourable colours of employment into aforrein air, there to purge and lessen; others receive their condemnation at home. But how bad seever his cast he see how he betters it hy good playing it.	21
foever his cast be, see how he betters it by good playing it. He submits himself, without contesting, to the pleasure of his Prince. For being a Tenant at will to the favour of his Sove-	22
his Landlord will out him. Such strugling makes the hook of his enemies malice strike the deeper into him. And whilest his Adversaries spur him with injuries on purpose to make him spring out into rebellious practices, he reins in his passions with the stronger patience.	*
If he must down, he seeks to fall easily, and if possible, to light on his legs. If stript out of his robes, he strives to keep his clothes; doosing his honour, yet to hold his lands; if not them, his life; and thanks his Prince for giving him whatsoever he takes not away from him.	23
To conclude, a Favourite is a trade, whereof he that breaks once seldome sets up again. Rare are the examples of those who have compounded and thrived well afterwards. Mean men are like underwood, which the Law	ventibus.

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Favourites in our English Court, living in the same time, and height of honour with their Soveraign, the one through his vitiousnesse, ending in misery, the other by his virtuous demeaner shining bright to his death: for I count it a wrong to our Country to import presidents out of forrein Histories, when our home-Chronicles afford us as plentifull and proper examples.

CHAP. 2. The life of HAMAN.

Haman the son of Amedatha, of the kindred of Agag, and people of Amalek, was highly favoured by Ahasuerus Emperour of Persia. I find not what pretious properties he had, sure he was a pearl in the eye of Ahasuerus, who commanded all his subjects to do lowly reverence unto him: only Mordecai the Jew excepted himself from that rule, denying him the payment of so humble an observance.

I fathome not the depth of Mordecai's refusall: perchance Haman interpreted this reverence farther then it was intended, as a divine honour, and therefore Mordecai would not blow wind into so empty a bladder, and be accessary to puss him up with self-conceit; or because Amalek was the devils first-fruits, which first brake the peace with Israel, and God commanded an antipathy against them; or he had some private countermand from God not to reverence him. What ever it was, I had rather accuse my self of ignorance, then Mordecai of pride.

Haman swels at this neglect. Will not his knees bow? his neck shall break with an halter. But oh, this was but poor and private revenge: one lark will not fill the belly of such a vultur. What if Mordecai will not stoop to Haman, must Haman stoop to Mordecai to be revenged of him

alone? wherefore he plotteth with the Kings sword to cut off the whole Nation of the Jews.

Repairing to Ahasuerus, he requested that all the Jews might be destroyed. He backs his Petition with three arguments: first, It was a scattered Nation; had they inhabited one entire country, their extirpation would have weakened his empire, but being dispersed, though kill'd every where, they would have been missed no where; secondly, his Empire would be more uniform when this irregular people, not observing his Laws, were taken away; thirdly, ten thousand talents Haman would pay into the bargain into the Kings Treasure.

What, out of his own purse? I see his pride was above his coverous nesse; and spightfull men count their revenge a purchase which cannot be over-bought: or perchance this money should arise out of the confiscation of their goods. Thus Ahasuerus should lock all the Jews into his chest, and by help of Hamans Chymistry convert them into silver.

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See how this grand destroyer of a whole Nation pleads the Kings profit. Thus our puny depopulatours alledge for their doings the Kings and Countreys good; and we will believe them, when they can perswade us that their private coffers are the Kings Exchequer. But never any wounded the Common-wealth, but first they kissed it, pretending the publick good.

Hamans silver is drosse with Ahasuerus: only his pleafure is currant with him. If Haman will have it so, so it shall freely be; he will give him and not sell him his favour. Tis wosull when great Judges see parties accused by other mens eyes, but condemn them by their own mouths: and now Posts were sent thorow all Persia to execute the Kings cruell decree.

I had almost forgotten how before this time Mordecai had discovered the treason, which two of the Kings Chamberlains had plotted against him; which good service of his, though not presently paid, yet was scored up in the Chronicles,

Chronicles, not rewarded but recorded, where it slept tilla due occasion did awake it. Perchance Hamans envy kept it from the Kings knowledge; and Princes sometimes to reward the desert of men want not mind, but minding of it.

To proceed: See the Jews all pitifully pensive, and fasting in sack-cloth and ashes, even to Queen Esther her self, which (unknown to Haman) was one of that nation. And to be brief, Esther invites Ahasuerus and Haman to a banquet (whose life shall pay the reckoning) and next day they are

both invited to a second entertainment.

Mean time Haman provides a gallows of fifty cubits high to hang Mordecai on. Five cubits would have ferv'd the turn; and had it took effect, the height of the gallows had but fet his foul so much the farther on his journey towards heaven. His stomach was so sharp set, he could not stay till he had din'd on all the Jews, but first he must break his fast on Mordecai; and sit it was this bell-weather should be sacrificed before the rest of the flock; wherefore he comes to the Court to get leave to put him to death.

The night before Ahasuerus had passed without sleep. The Chronicles are called for, either to invite slumber, or to entertain waking with the lesse tediousnesse. Gods hand in the margin points the Reader to the place where Mordecai's good service was related; and Ahasuerus asketh Haman (newly come into the presence) what shall be done to the

man whom the King will honour?

Haman being now (as he thought) to measure his own happinesse, had been much to blame if he made it not of the largest size. He cuts out a garment of honour, royall both for matter and making, for Mordecai to wear. By the Kings command he becomes Mordecai's Herald and Page, lacquying by him riding on the Kings steed, (who he hoped by this time should have mounted the wooden horse) and then pensive in heart, hastes home to bemoan himself to his friends. Hamans wise proves a true Prophetesse, presaging his ruine. If the seet of a Favourite begin to slip on the steep

hill of honour, his own weight will down with him to the bottome: once past noon with him, it is presently

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For at the next feast Ahasuerus is mortally incens'd against him for plotting the death of Esther, with the rest of her people. (For had his project succeeded, probably the Jew had not been spared for being a Queen, but the Queen had been killed for being a Jew.) Haman in a carelesse sorrowfull posture, more minding his life then the lust, had cast himself on the Queens bed. Will he force the Queen also (said Ahasuerus) before me in the house? These words rang his pasfing-bell in the Court, and according to his Persian fashion they covered his face, putting him in a winding sheet that was dead in the Kings favour. The next news we hear of him is, that by exchange Haman inherits the gibbet of Mordecai, and Mordecai the house and greatnesse of Haman, the decree against the Jews being generally reversed.



X

CHAP. 3



CHAP. 3. The life of Card. VVOLSEY.

* Parentem h.b it virum probum at lanium, Pol. Virgil. p. 633. Thomas Wolsey was born at Ipswich in Suffolk, whose father was a Butcher, and an * honest man, and was there brought up at school, where afterwards he built a beautifull Colledge. From Ipswich he went to Oxford, and from thence was preferred to be Schoolmaster to the Marques of Dorset's children, where he first learnt to be imperious over Noble bloud. By the stairs of a Parlonage or two he climbed up at last into the notice of Fox, Bishop of Winchester, and was received to be his Secretary. There

There was at that time a faction at Court betwixt Bish p Fox and Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey. The Bishop being very old was scarce able to make good his party; yet it grieved him not so much to stoop to Nature as to the Earl his Corrivall: wherefore not able to manage the matter himself, he was contented to be the stock where in Wolley should be graffed, whom he made heir to his favour, conmending him to King Henry the seventh for one fit to serve a King, and command others: And hereupon he was entertained at Court.

Soon after, when Henry his sonne came to the Crown, Wolfey quickly found the length of his soot, and field him with an easie shoe. He perswaded him that it was good accepting of pleasure whilest youth tender'd it: let him follow his sports, whilest Wolfey would undertake every night briefly to represent unto him all matters of mom nt which had passed that Counsel-table. For Princes are to take State-assairs not in the masse and whole bu k of them, but onely the spirits thereof skill ully extracted. And hereupon the King referred all matters to Wolseys managing on whom he conferr'd the B shopricks of Durelme, Winchester, and Yo.k,

with some other spiritual promotions.

Nothing now hindred Wolfey's prospect to overlook the whole Court but the head of Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham, who was high in birth, honour, and estate For as for Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, he stood not in Wolfey's way, but rather besides then against him: Brandon being the Kings companion in pleasures, Wolfey his counfellour in pollicy; Brandon Favourite to Henry, Wolfey to the King. Wolfey takes this Buckingham to task, who (otherwise a brave Gentleman) was proud and popular; and that tower is easily undermin'd wose foundation is hollow. His own folly with Wolfe'ys malice overthre whim. Vainglory ever lyeth at open guard, and giveth much advantage of play to her enemies. The Duke is condemned of high treason, though rather corrivall with the King for his Clothes then his Crown, being excessively brave in apparrell.

* Sanderf. de Schismate Anglicano, pag. 108. The ax that kills Buckingham frights all others, who turn contesting into complying with our Archbishop, now Cardinall, Legate à latere, and Lord-Chancellour. All the Judges stood at the barre of his devotion. His displeasure more feared then the Kings, whose anger though violent was placable; the Cardinalls of lesse sure hour more malice: yet in matters of Judicature he behaved himself commendably. I hear no widows sighs, nor see orphans tears in our Chronicles caused by him: sure in such cases wherein his private ends made him not a party, he was an exceellent Justicer, as beeing too proud to be bribed, and too strong to be overborn.

Next he aspires to the Triple Crown; he onely wants Holinesse, and must be Pope. Yet was it a great labour for a Tramountain to climbe over the Alps to S. Peters Chair; a long leap from York to Rome, and therefore he needed to take a good rise. Besides he used Charles the sisth, Emperour, for his staff, gold he gave to the Romish Cardinalls, and they gave him golden promises, so that at last Wolsey perceived, both the Emperour and the Court of Rome delay'd and deluded him.

He is no fox whose den hath but one hole: Wolsey finding this way stopt. goes another way to work, and falls off to the French King, hoping by his help to obtain his desires. However if he help not himself, he would hinder Charles the Emperours designes; and revenge is a great preferment. Wherefore covertly he seeks to make a divorce betwirt Queen Katherine, Dowager, the Emperours Aunt, and King

Henrie the eight his Mafter.

Queen Katharines age was above her Husbands, her gravity above her age; more pious at her beads then pleasant in her bed, a better woman then a wife, and a fitter wife for any Prince then King Henrie. Wolsey by his instruments perswades the King to put her away, pleading they were so contiguous and near in kindred, they might not be made continuous (one flesh) in marriage, because she before had been wife to Prince Arthur the Kings brother. Besides,

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the King wanted a male heir, which he much desired. Welcome whisperings are quickly heard. The King embraceth the motion: the matter is enterd in the Romish Court, but long delayed; the Pope first meaning to divorce most of the gold from England in this tedious suit. But here Wolfey miscarried in the Masterpiece of his policy. For he hoped upon the divorce of King Henry from Queen Katharine his wife (which with much adoe was effected) to advance a marriage betwixt him and the King of France his fifter, thinking with their nuptiall ring to wed the King of France eternally to himself, and mould him for farther defignes: whereas contrary to his expectation King Henry fell in love with Anna Bullen, a Lady whose beauty exceeded her birth, (though honourable) wit her beauty, piety all; one for his love not lust, so that there was no gathering of green fruit from her till marriage had ripened it; whereupon the King took her to wife.

Not long after followed the ruine of the Cardinall, caused by his own vitiousnesse, heightned by the envy of his Adversaries. He was caught in a Premunire for procuring to be Legate de latere, and advancing the Popes power against the Laws of the Realm; and eight other Articles were framed against him for which we report the Reader to our * Chronicles. The main was, his Egg & Rex meus, wherein * Fox Alls & heremembred his old profession of a Schoolmaster, and forgot his present estate of a Statesman. But as for some things laid to his charge his friends plead, that where potent malice is Promoter, the acculations shall not want proof, though the proof may want truth. Well, the broad seal was taken from him, and some of his spirituall Preferments. Yet was he still left Bishop af Winchester, and Archbishop of York, so that the Kings goodnesse hitherto might have seem'd rather to ease him of burthensome greatnesse then to have deprived him of wealth or honour: which whether he did out of love to Wolfey, or fear of the Pope, I interpose no

opinion.

Home now went Wolsey into Yorkshire, and lived at

his Mannour of Cawood, where he wanted nothing the heart of man could defire for contentment. But great minds countevery place a prison, which is not a Kings Court; and just it was that he which would not see his own happinesse. should therefore feel his own misery. He provided for his enstalling Archbishop State equivalent to a Kings Coronation, which his ambition revived other of his mildemeanours, and by command from the King he was arrested by the Earl of Northumberland, and so took his journey up to London. By the way his foul was rackt betwixt different tidings; now hoyfed up with hope of pardon, then instantly let down with news of the Kings displeasure, till at Leicester his heart was broken with these sudden and contrary motions. The story goes that he should breathe out his foul with speeches to this effect, Had I been as carefull to serve the God of Heaven, as I have to comply to the will of my earthly King, God would not have left me in mine old age, as the other hath done.

His body swell'd after his death, as his mind did whilest he was living, which with other symptomes gave the suspicion that he poysoned himself. It will suffice us to observe, If a great man much beloved dyeth suddenly, the report goes that others poysoned him: If he be generally hated, then that he poysoned himself. Sure never did a Great man fall with lesse pity. Some of his own servants with the feathers they got under him slew to other Masters. Most of the Clergy (more pitying his Profession then Person) were glad that the felling of this oke would cause the growth of

much underwood.

Let Geometricians measure the vastnesse of his mind by the sootsteps of his Buildings, Christ-Church, White-Hall, Hampton-Court: And no wonder if some of these were not finished, seeing his life was rather broken off then ended. Sure King Henry lived in two of his houses, and lies now in the third, I mean his Tomb at Windsor. In a word, in his prime he was the bias of the Christian world, drawing the bowl thereof to what side he pleased.

CHAP. 4. The life of CHARLES BRANDON,

Duke of Suffolk.

Harles Brandon was sonne to St. William Brandon, Standard-bearer to King Henry the seventh, in whose quarrell he was flain in Bosworth field; wherefore the King counted himself bound in honour and conscience to favour young Charles, whose father spent his last breath to blow him to the haven of victory, and caused him to be brought up with Prince Henry his second sonne.

The intimacy betwixt them took deep impression in their tender years, which hardned with continuance of time prov'd indeleble. It was advanced by the sympathy of their active spirits, (men of quick and large-striding minds loving to walk together) not to fay, that the loofenesse of their youthfull lives made them the faster friends. Henry, when afterwards King, heaped honours upon him, created him Vif-

count Lille, and Duke of Suffolk.

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Not long after some of the English Nobility got leave to go to the publick Tilting in Paris, and there behav'd themselves right valiantly, though the sullen French would scarce speak a word in their praise. For they conceived it would be an eternall impoverishing of the credit of their Nation, if the honour of the day should be exported by foreiners. But Brandon bare away the credit from all, fighting at Barriers with a giant Almain, till he made an earth-quake in that mountain of flesh, making him reel and * stagger, and ma- + Hollinshed, ny other courses at Tilt he performed to admiration. Yea, the Lords beheld him not with more envious, then the Ladies with gracious eyes, who darted more glances in love, then the other ranne spears in anger against him; especially Mary the French Queen, and fifter to King Henry the eighth, who afterwards proved his wife.

For after the death of Lewis the twelfth her husband, King X 4 Henry

* First married to Margaret Nevil, after to Anne,
daughter to
Sr Antbony
'Brown.

* Hollinshed, pag. 836. Henry her brother imployed Charles Brandon to bring her over into England, who improved his service so well that he got her good will to marry her. Whether his affections were so ambitious to climb up to her, or hers so courteous as to descend to him (who had been * twice a widower before) let youthfull pennes dispute it: it sufficeth us, both met together. Then wrote he in humble manner to request King Henries leave to marry his sister; but knowing that matters of this nature are never sure till finisht, and that leave is sooner got to do such attempts when done already; and wisely considering with himself that there are but sew dayes in the Almanack, wherein such Marriages come in, and subjects have opportunity to wed Queens, he first married her * privately in Paris.

King Henrie after the acting of some anger, and shewing some state-discontent, was quickly contented therewith; year the world conceiveth that he gave this woman to be married to this man, in sending him on such an imployment. At Calis they were afterward re-married, or if you will their former private marriage publickly solemniz'd, and coming into England liv'd many years in honour and esteem, no lesse dear to his sellow subjects then his Sovereign. He was often imployed Generall in Martiall affairs, especially in the warres betwixt the English and French, though the greatest personnance on both sides was but mutuall indenting the

Dominions each of other with inrodes.

When the divorce of King Henry from Queen Katharine was so long in agitation, Brandon sound not himself a little agrieved at the Kings expence of time and money: for the Court of Rome in such matters, wherein money is gotten by delayes, will make no more speed then the beast in Brasil, which the Spaniards call Pigritia, which goes no farther in a fortnight then a man will cast a stone. Yea Brandon well perceived that Cardinall Campeius and Wolsey in their Court at Bridewell, wherein the divorce was judicially handled, intended onely to produce a solemn Nothing, their Court being but the Clock set according to the diall at Rome,

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Rome, and the instructions received thence. Wherefore knocking on the table, in the presence of the two Cardinals, he bound it with an oath, That It was never well in England fince Cardinalls had any thing to do therein: And from that time forward, as an active instrument, he indeavoured the abolishing of the Popes power in England.

For he was not onely (as the Papists complain * of him) a Principall agent in that Parliament, Anno 1534- wherein the Popes supremacy was abrogated, but also a main means of the overturning of Abbeys, as conceiving that though the head was struck off, yet as long as that neck and those shoulders remained, there would be continuall appetite of reuniting themselves. Herein his thoughts were more pure from the mixture of covetous nesses that our eyes, justly dazled at first with the brightnesse of Gods Justice on those vitious fraternities, have somewhat recovered themselves, they will serve us to see the greedy appetites of some instruments to feed on Church morsels.

He lived and died in the full favour of his Prince, though as Cardinall Pool observed, they who were highest in this Kings favour, their heads were nearest danger. Indeed King Henrie was not very tender in cutting off that joynt, and in his Reigne the ax was seldome wiped, before wetted again with Noble bloud. He died Anno 1544. much beloved, and lamented of all, for his bounty, humility, valour, and all noble virtues, since the heat of his youth was tamed in his reduced age, and lies buried at Windsor.

CHAP. 5.

The wife Statesman.

To describe the Statesman at large, is the subject rather of a Volume then a Chapter, and is as sarre beyond my power, as wide of my profession. We will not lanch

into the deep, but satisfie our selves to sail by the shore, and briefly observe his carriage towards God, his King, himself, home-persons, and forein Princes.

Maxime 1

He counts the fear of God the beginning of wisdome; and there, fore esteemeth no project profitable, which is not lawfull; nothing politick, which crosseth piety. Let not any plead for the contrary Hushai's dealing with Absalom, which strongly savour'd of double-dealing; for what is a question cannot be an argument, seeing the lawfulnesse of his deed therein was never decided; and he is unwise that will venter the state of his soul on the litigious title of such an example. Besides, we must live by Gods precepts, not by the godlies practise. and though God causeth sometimes the sunne of successe to shine as well on bad as good projects, yet commonly wicked actions end in shame at the last.

In giving counsell to his Prince, he had rather displease then hurt him. Plain dealing is one of the daintiest ratures can be presented to some Princes, as being novelty to them all times of the year. The Philosopher could say, * Quid omnia possidentibus deest? Ille qui verum dicat, Wherefore our Statesman seeks to undeceive his Prince from the fallacies of flatterers, who by their plausible perswasions have bolster'd up their crooked counsells, to make them seem straight in the Kings eyes.

3

* Sencea de benefic lib.3.

CAP 30.

Yet if dissenting from his Sovereign, he doth it with all humility, and moderation. It is neither manners nor wit to crosse Princes in their game, much lesse in their serious affairs. Yea, it may be Rebellion in a subject to give his Sovereign loyall counsell, if proceeding from a spirit of contradiction and contempt, and uttered in audacious language. What do these but give wholsome Physick, wrapt up in poisoned papers?

4

He is constant but not obstinate in the advice he gives. Some think it beneath a wise man to alter thier opinion: A maxime both false and dangerous. We know what worthy Father wrote his own Retractation; and it matters not though we go back from our word, so we go forward in the truth

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to his friend, he enables him to be a foe, and to undo him at pleasure, whose secrecy he must buy at the parties own price, and if ever he shuts his purse, the other opens his mouth. Matters of inferiour consequence he will communicate to a fast friend, and crave his advice; for two eyes see more then one, though it be never so big, and set (as in Polyphemus) in the middest of the forehead.

9 * Lib.2. de offic.cap. 112.

He is carefull and provident in the managing of his private estate. Excellently *Ambrose, An idoneum putabo qui mibi det consilium, qui non dat sibi? Well may Princes suspect those Statesmen not to be wife in the businesse of the Common-wealth, who are fools in ordering their own affairs. Our Politician, if he en. largeth not his own estate, at least keeps it in good repair. As for avaricious courses, he disdaineth them. Sr Thomas More, though some years Lord-Chancellour of England, scarce left his sonne * five and twenty pounds a year more then his father left him. And S' Henry Sidney (father to S' Philip) being Lord President of Wales and Ireland, got not one foot of land in either Countrey, rather seeking after the common good then his private profit. I must confesse the last age produced an English Statesman, who was the Picklock of the Cabinets of forein Princes, who, though the wifest in his time and way, died poor and indebted to private men, though not so much as the whole Kingdome was indebted to him. But such an accident is rare; and a small Hospitall will hold those Statesmen who have impaired their means, not by their private carelesnesse, but carefulnesse for the publick. As for his carriage towards Home-persons,

* Sanderf. de Schifm An glic.pag.118.

* Henry Lhoid, in the beginning of his Welch Chronicle.

10

He studieth mens natures, first reading the Title-pages of them by the report of Fame: but credits not Fames relations to the full. Otherwise, as in London-exchange one shall overbuy wares, who gives half the price at first demanded, so he that believeth the moity of Fame, may believe too much. Wherefore to be more accurate,

11

He reads the Chapters of mens natures (chiefly his concurrents and competitours) by the reports of their friends and foes, making allowance

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my out of Italy back again. Thus it is easie for one to intent and embarque himself in others quarrells, but much diff culty it is to be disengaged from them afterwards. Nor will our Statesman entitle himself a party in any feminine di cords, knowing that womens jarres breed mens warres.

14. Yet be counts neutrality profanenesse in such matters wherein Gal

Prov. 26. 17 his Prince, the Church, or State are concern'd. Indeed, He that medleth with strife not belonging unto him is like one that takethe dog dy the eares. Yet if the dog worrieth a sheep, we may ye ought to rescue it from his teeth, and must be champions for innocence, when it is overborn with might. He that will fland neuter in such matters of moment, wherein his calling commands him to be a party, with Servilius in Rome, will please neither side : Of whom the Historian sayes, P. Servi lius medium se gerendo, nec plebis vitavit odium, nec apud Patro gratiam inivit. And just it is with God, that they should be Arained in the twift, who stride so wide as to set their legs in two opposite sides. Indeed an upright shoe may fit both feet, but never faw I a glove that would ferve both hands Neutrality in matters of an indifferent nature may fit well but never suit well in important matters, of farre different conditions.

He is the centre wherein lines of intelligence meet from all fo-15 rein countreys. He is carefull that his outlandish instructions be full, true, and speedy; not with the sluggard telling for

news at noone, that the sunne is risen. But more largely

hereof in the Embassadour, hereaster

He refuseth all underhand pensions from forein Princes. Indeed honourary rewards received with the approbation of his Sovereigne may be lawfull and leffe dangerons. For although even such gifts tacitly oblige him by way of gratitude to do all good offices to that forein Prince whose Pensioner he is ; yet his counsells passe not but with an open abatement, in regard of his known engagements, and so the State is armed against the advice of such, who are well known to lean to one fide. But secret pensions which flow from forrein Princes, like the river Anas in Spain, under ground

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ground, not known or discerned, are most mischievous. The receivers of such willplay under board at the Counsell table; and the eating and digesting of such outlandish food will by degrees fill their veins with outlandish bloud, even in their very hearts.

His Master-piece is in negotiating for his own Master with forein Princes. At Rhodes there was a contention betwixt Apelles and Protogenes, corrivalls in the Mystery of Limming. Apelles with his pencill drew a very slender even line; Protogenes drew another more small and slender in the midst thereof with another colour: Apelles again with a third line of a different colour drew through the midst of that Protogenes had made, *Nullum relinquens amplius subtilitati locum. Thus our Statesman traverseth matters, doubling and redoubling in his forein negotiations with the Politicians of other Princes, winding, and entrenching themselves mutually within the thoughts each of other, till at last our Statesman leaves no degrees of subtlety to go beyond him.

To conclude; Some plead that diffembling is Lawfull in State craft, upon the presupposition that men must meet with other, which dissemble. Yea they hold, that thus to counterfeit, se defendendo, against a crasty corrivall, is no finne, but a just punishment on our adversary, who first began it. And therefore Statesmen sometime must use crooked shoes, to fit hurl'd feet. Besides, the honest Politician would quickly be begger'd, if, receiving black money from cheaters, he payes them in good filver, and not in their own coin back again. For my part, I confesse that herein I rather fee what then whither to flie; neither able to answer their arguments, nor willing to allow their practice. But what shall I say? They need to have steddy heads who can dive into thele gulfs of policy, and come out with a late conscience. le look no longer on those whirl-pools of State, lest my pen turn giddy.

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* Plin. nat. Hift lib. 34.

CHAP. 6.

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CHAP. 6.

The life of VVILLIAM CECIL Lord Burleigh.

fcended from the ancient and worshipfull Family of the Sitsilts or Cecils of Alterynnis in Herefordshire, on the confines of Wales; a name which a great * Antiquary thinks probably derived from the Romane Cecilii. No credit is to be given to their pens, who tax him with meannesse of birth, and whose malice is so generall against all goodnesse, that it had been a slander if this worthy man had not been slandered

* Verftegan, reftitut, of decaed intelligence p.312. flindred by them : The fervant is not above his mafter ; and we know what aspersions their mulice sought to cast on the Queen her felf.

He being first bred in S. Johns Colledge in Cambridge went thence to Grayes Inne (and aled it as an Inne indee d, Studying there in his Passage to the Court) where he attainal good learning in the Laws: yet his skill in fencing made him not daring to quatrell, who in all his life-time neither flied any, nor was fued himself. He was after Master of tab. In Anno the Requests (the first that ever bare office) une the 1:93. Duke of Sommerlet, Lord Protectour, and was knighted by King Edward the fixth ... Loro I , Law alt to roll

STIONS

One & challengeth him to have been a main contriver of ward in his that act, and unnaturall will of King Edward the fixth, pag. 417. wherein the King palsing by his fifters, Marie and Elizaboth, sentailed the Crown on Queen Jane and that he furnished that act with reasons of State, as Judge Montague filled it with arguments of Law. Indeed his hand wrote it, a Secretary of State, but his heart confented northereto; yea he openly topposed it; though at last yielding to the great- rim. nesse of Northumberland, in an age wherein it was present drowning, not to swim along with the stream. But as the Philosopher tells us, that though the Planets be whitled * Ariffet, Ub. shout daily brown East to West by the motion of the Printers 2. de calecap. mobile, yet have they also a contrary proper motion of their own from West to East, which they slowly yet furely move atheir leisures : so Cecill had secret counter- endeavours against the strain of the Court herein, and privately advancodhis rightfull intentions against the foresaid Dukes ambition; and we see that afterward Queen Marie not onely pardoned but employed him, so that rowards the end of her reigne he food in fome twilight of her favour. The a 2000 Up

As for Si Edward Montague Lord chief Justice, what he did was by command against his own will as appears by his written protestation at his death whill in the hands of his honourable posterity, But whilest in this army of offenders, the Mobility in the front made an elcape for themselves,

Queen

Queen Maries displeasure overtook the old Judge in the rere, the good old man being not able with such speed to provide for himself; yea though he had done nothing but by generall consent and command, the rest of the Lords laid load on him, desirous that the Queens anger should send him on an errand to the prison, and thence to the scaffold, to excuse themselves from going on the same message. However, after some imprisonment he was pardon'd; a sufficient and gument, that the Queen conceived him to concurre passively in that action.

In queen Elizabeths daies he was made Secretary of State, Master of the Wards, Lord Treasurer, and at last after long service Baron of Burleigh. For the queen honoured her honours in conferring them sparingly, thereby making Title more substantiall, wherewith she payed many for their service. The best demonstration of his care in stewarding her Treasure was this, that the queen, vying gold and silver with the King of Spain, had money or credit, when the other had neither; her Exchequer, though but a pond in comparison, holding water, when his river, fed with a spring from the Indies, was dreined dry.

In that grand faction betwixt Leicester and Sussex, he meddled not openly, though it is easie to tell whom he wished the best to. Indeed this cunning Wrestler would never catch hold to grapple openly with Leicester (as having somewhat the disadvantage of him both in height and strength) but they ran to their severall goales, if they chanced to meet, Bursleigh would fairly give him a trip, and be gone; and the Eath had many a rub laid in his way, yet never saw who put it there.

Tis true, the Sword-men accused him as too cold in the queens credit, and backward in fighting against foreign energies. Indeed he would never engage the State in a warre, except necessity, or her Majesties honour, sounded the alarmis But no reason he should be counted an enemie to the Spatks of Valour, who was so catefull to provide them fewel, and pay the Souldier. Otherwise, in vain do the brows

brows frown, the eyes sparkle, the tongue threaten, the fift

bend, and the arm strike, except the belly be fed.

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The queen reflected her favour highly upon him, counling him both her Treasurer, and her principall Treasure. She would cause him alwaies to sit down in her presence. because troubled with the gout, and used to tell him: My Lord, we make much of you, not for your bad legs, but for your good head. This caused him to be much envied of some great ones at Court; and at one time no fewer then the * Marquelle of * Cambden. Winchester, Duke of Norfolk, Earls of Arundel, Northum-1579. berland, Westmerland, Pembroke and Leicester combining against him, taking advantage about his making over some moneys beyond fea to the French Protestants, and on some other occasions; Sir Nicolas Throgmorton advised them first to clap him up in prison, saying, that if he were once thut up, men would open their mouths to speak freely against him. But the queen understanding hereof, and flanding, as I may say, in the very prilon-doore, quash'd all heir designes, and freed him from the mischier projected against him.

He was a good friend to the Church, as then established by Law, he used to adviso his eldest son Thomas never to bellow any great coft, or to build any great house on an Impropriation, as fearing the foundation might fail hereafter. A Patron to both Universities, chiefly to Cambridge, whereof he was Chancellour; and though Rent-corn first grew in the head of Sir Thomas Smith, it was ripened by Burleighs assistance, whereby though the rents of Colledges Hand fill,

their revenues increase.

No man was more pleasant and merry at meals, and he had a pretty wit-rack in himfelf, to make the dumbe to peak, to draw speech out of the most fullen and * filent + Hospman in quest at his table, to shew his disposition in any point he descript of the hould propound. For foreign intelligence, though he tra much, who had ded Tometimes on the flock of Secretary Wallingham, yet been as his tas wanted he not a plentifull bank of his own. At night when he put off his gown, he used to say, Lye there, Lord Treasurer,

and bidding adieu to all State-affairs, disposed himself to his quiet rest.

was so great, and afterwards wondered more that it was so little, having considered what Offices he had, and how long he enjoyed them. His harvest lasted every day for above thirty years together, wherein he allowed some of his servants the same courtesse Boaz granted to Ruth, to glean even among the sheaves, and to suffer some handfulls also to fall on purpose for them, whereby they raised great estates.

To draw to a conclusion : There arose a great question in State, whether warre with Spain should be continued, ora peace drawn up? The Sword and Gownmen brough weighty arguments on both fides, stamping also upon them with their private interests, to make them more heavy. Burleigh was all against warre, now old, being desirous depart in peace, both private in his Conscience, and public in the State. But his life was determined before the question was fully decided. In his ficknesse the Queen often visited him, a good plaister to asswage his pain, but unable to prolong his life to that, Cum fatis nature, Satisque gloria, patrient tem non fatis dixiffet, in the seventy seventh yeare of his age, Anno 1598. he exchanged this life for a better. God measured his outward happinesse not by an ordinary standard. How many great Underrakers in State fet in a cloud, whereash shined to the last & Herein much is to be ascribed to the Queens constancy, who to confute the observation of Feminine ficklenesse, where her favour did light it did lodge; more to his own temper and moderation, whereas violent and boysterous medlers in State cripple themselves with aches in their age, most to Gods goodnesse, who honoured them that honour him. He saw Thomas his eldeft sonnt richly married to an honourable coheir; Robert able to And alone in Court having a competent portion of favour, which he knew thriftily to improve, being a pregnant prowanted be not a plentifull bank of spilgislibests? almoise

CHAP. 7.

The good fudge.

THe good Advocate, whom we * formerly described, is * Lib. 2. capit. fince by his Princes favour, and own deferts, advanced to be a Judge: which his place he freely obtained with Sr. Augustine * Nicolls, whom King James used to call the Judge that would give no money. Otherwise they that buy him. Justice by wholesale, to make themselves savers must sell it by retail.

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He is patient and attentive in hearing the pleadings on both sides : and hearkens to the witnesses, though tedious. He may give a waking testimony who hath but a dreaming utterance; and many countrey people must be impertinent, before they can be pertinent, and cannot give evidence about a hen, but first they must begin with it in the egge. All which our Judge is contented to hearken to.

He meets not a testimony half-way, but stayes till it come at him. He that proceeds on half-evidence, will not do quarterjustice. Our Judge will not go till he is led. If any shall brow-beat a pregnant witnesse, on purpose to make his proof miscarry, he checketh them, and helps the witnesse, that labours in his delivery. On the other fide, he nips those Lawyers, who under pretence of kindnesse to lend a witnelle some words, give him new matter, yea clean contrary

to what he intended.

Having heard with patience, he gives sentence with uprightnesse. For when he put on his robes, he put off his relations to any; and like Melchisedech becomes without pedegree. His private affections are swallowed up in the common cause, as rivers lose their names in the ocean. He therefore allows no noted favourites, which cannot but cause multiplication of tees, and suspicion of by-wayes.

He silences that Lawyer who seeks to set the neck of a bad cause, once broken with a definitive sentence; and causeth that contentious

Maxime I

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209	The Holy State.	Book IV.	
	contentious suits be spued out, as the	surfets of Courts.	
5	He so hates bribes, that he is jealous to receive		
	the ordinary proportion of friendship; lest like the Sermo		
	wandring Preachers, they should end in	begging. And fure-	
	ly Integrity is the proper portion of a		
	touch-stone whereby to try gold, but go	ld is the touchstone	
	whereby to try men. It was a shrewd	gird which Catulus	
	gave the Romane Judges for acquitting		
	maletactour, when he met them going h	nome well attended	
* Plutar.in th	with Officers . You do well (quoth he) to	he well * quarded for	
life of Cicero			
pag. 872.	Our Judge also detesteth the trick of Me	endicant Friers who	
. *	will couch no money themselves, but ha		
	to receive it for them.	ive a boy with a bag	
6	When he fits upon life, in judgement he ren	T	
	(they say) a butcher may not be of the	jurie, much iene	
	let him be the Judge. Oh let him take h		
	that hath a dead hand. It was the charge	e Queen Mary gave	
a w'- fi- d	to Judge Morgan, chief Justice of the c	common Pleas, that	
* Hollinshed Queen Mari	ie. Hotwithitanding the old "citout amoi	igit Judges did no	
pag. 1112.	admit any witnesse to speak, or any other	r matter to be heard	
	in favour of the adversary, her Majesty b		
	Highnesse pleasure was that whatsoever		
	the favour of the Subject should be adm		
7	If the cause be difficult, his diligence is the		
	For though there be mention, Pfal. 37. 6	6. of righteousnesse	
	as clear as the noon-day; yet God forbid	that that innocency	
,	which is no clearer then twilight shou	ld be condemned	
	And feeing ones oath commands another		
	whether malice did not command that of	oath: yet when all is	
	done, the Judge may be deceived by f		
	blame not the hand of the diall, if it poi		
	when the fault's in the wheels of the clo	ck which direct it.	
	and are out of frame.	aciri mandiser	
8	The sentence of condemnation he pronounce	reth with all eravity	
	Tis best when steep'd in the Judges to		
	all jesting on men in misery : easily may		
	an jetting on men in thirty . carry may	of	
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them constantly, when in health. Extraordinary courses are not ordinarily to be used, when not enforced by absolute necessity.

And thus we leave our good Judge to receive a just reward of his integrity from the Judge of Judges, at the great

Assize of the world.

CHAP. 8.

The life of S'. JOHN MARKHAM.

I Ohn Markham was born at Markham in NottinghamI shire, descended of an ancient and worthy samilie. He
employed his youth in the studying of the Municipall Law
of this realm, wherein he attained to such eminencie, that
King Edward the fourth Knighted him, and made him
Lord chief * Justice of the Kings Bench in the place of
St John Fortescue, that learned and upright Judge, who see
away with King Henrie the sixth.

Yet Fortescue was not missed, because Markham succeeded him: and that losse, which otherwise could not be repaired, now could not be perceived. For though these two Judges did severally lean to the sides of Lancaster and York,

yet both fat upright in matters of Judicature.

Judge, which though fingle in it self, was plurall in the concernings thereof. And let the Reader know, that I have not been carelesse to search, though unhappy not to find, the outginal Record, perchance abolished on purpose, and silenced for telling tales to the disgrace of great ones. We must now be contented to write this Story out of the English Chronicles, * and let him die of drought without pitty, who will not quench his thirst at the river, because he cannot come at the fountain.

of the Woodvills (Gentleman of more antiquity then

* 1: Maif. 1. Edwarai. 4.

* Fabian. pag. 497. & c. Hol= linshed pag. 670. & Stow in 12. of Edward the fourth, are

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hen lth, wealth, and of higher spirits then fortunes) thought it sit for his own honour to bestow honour upon them: But he could not so easily provide them of wealth, as titles. For honour he could derive from himself, like light from a candle, without any diminishing of his own lustre; whereas wealth slowing from him, as water from a fountain, made the spring the shallower. Wherefore he resolved to cut down some prime subjects, and to engraff the Queens kindred into their estates, which otherwise like suckers must feed on the stock of his own Exchequer.

There was at this time one S^r. Thomas Cook, late Lord Major of London, and Knight of the Bath, one who had well lick'd his fingers under Queen Margaret (whose Wardroper he was, and customer of Hampton) a man of a great estate. It was agreed that he should be accused of high Treason, and a Commission of Oyer and Terminer granted forth to the Lord Major, the duke of Clarence, the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Rivers, S^r. John Markham, S^r. John Fogg, &c. to try him in Guild Hall: And the King by private instructions to the Judge appeared so farre, that Cook, though he was not, must be found guilty, and if the Law were too short, the Judge must stretch it to the purpose.

The fault laid to his charge was for lending moneys to Queen Margaret wife to King Henry the fixth; the proof, was the confession of one Hawkins, who being rack'd in the Tower had confessed so much. The Counsell for the King, hanging as much weight on the smallest wier as it would hold, aggravated each particular, and by their Rhetoricall slashes blew the fault up to a great height. St. Thomas Cook pleaded for himself, that Hawkins indeed upon a season came to him, and requested him to lend one thousand marks, upon good security. But he desired first to know for whom the money should be: and understanding it was for Queen Margaret, denyed to lend any money, though at last the said Hawkins descended so low as to require but one hundred pounds, and departed without any penny lent him.

Judge Markham in a grave speech did recapitulate, select

and collate the materiall points on either side, shewing that the proof reached not the charge of high Treason, and mission of Treason was the highest it could amount to; and intimated to the Jury, to be tender in matter of life, and

discharge good consciences.

The Jurie being wise men (whose apprehensions could make up a whole sentence of every nod of the Judge) saw it behoved them to draw up Treason into as narrow a compatte as might be, lest it became their own case; for they lived in a troublesome world, wherein the cards were so shuffled, that two Kings were turn'd up trump at once, which amazed men how to play their games. Whereupon they acquitted the prisoner of high Treason, and found him guilty, as the Judge directed.

Yet it cost Sr. Thomas Cook, before he could get his liberty, eight hundred pounds to the Queen, and eight thousand pounds to the King: A summe in that age more sounding like the ransome of a Prince, then the fine of a subject. Besides, the Lord Rivers (the Queens Father) had, during his Imprisonment, despoyled his houses, one in the city, another in the countrey, of plate and surniture, for which he never received a penny recompence. Yet God righted him of the wrongs men did him, by blessing the remnant of his estate to him, and his posterity, which still flourish at Giddy. Hall in Essex.

As for Sr. John Markham, the Kings displeasure fell so heavy on him, that he was outed of his place, and Sr. Thomas Billing put in his room, though the one lost that Office with more honour then the other got it; and gloried in this, that though the King could make him no Judge, he could not make him no upright Judge. He lived privately the rest of his dayes, having (besides the estate got by his practice) fair lands by Margaret his wise, daughter and coheir to Sr. Simon Leak * of Cotham in Nottingham shire, whose Mother Joan was daughter and heir of Sr. John Talbot, of Swannington in Leicestershire.

* Burtons Leicestershire, P48. 577. hat

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CHAP. 9.

The good Bishop,

TE is an Overleer of a Flock of Shepherds, as a Minister is of a Flock of Gods sheep. Divine providence and his Princes bounty advanced him to the Place, whereof he was no whit ambitious: Onely he counts it good manners to fit there where God hath placed him, though it be higher then he conceives himself to deserve, and hopes that he who call'd him to the Office hath or will in some measure fit him for it.

His life is so spotlesse, that Malice is angry with him, because the cannot be angry with him: because she can find no just cause to accuse him. And as * Diogenes confuted him who denyed there was any motion, by faying nothing but walking before his eyes; so our Bishop takes no notice of the false accufations of people disaffected against his order, but walks on circumspectly in his calling, really refelling their cavils in his conversation. A Bishops bare presence at a marriage in his own diocesse, is by the Law interpreted for a licence, and what actions soever he graceth with his company, he is conceived to priviledge them to be lawfull, which makes him to be more wary in his behaviour.

With his honour, his holinesse and humility doth increase. His great Place makes not his piety the leffe : farre be it from him that the glittering of the candlestick should dimme the thining of his candle. The meanest Minister of Gods word may have free accesse unto him : whosoever brings a good cause brings his own welcome with him. The pious poore may enter in at his wide gates, When not so much as his

wicket shall be open to wealthy unworthinesse.

He is diligent and faithfull in preaching the Gospel: either by his pen, Evangelizo manu & scriptione, saith a strict * Divine; Reinold. de. or by his vocall Sermons (if age and other indispensable oc
Eccles: Epis. casions hinder him not) teaching the Clergy to preach, and ledies.

Maxime I

* Dlogen. Laert, lib.6. pag. 212. in vit, Diogenis

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"Concil. Toletan. 2. Cap. 2. Tom. 4. pag. 810 Cencil. Conflant. 6. Cau. 19. Tom. 5. pag. 328. Concil. Aurel. Gan. 33. pag. 723. and lately, concil. Trident. Seff. 24. Can. 4.

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the Laity to live, according to the ancient*Canons. Object not that it is unfitting he should lie Perdue, who is to walk the round, and that Governing as an higher employment is to silence his preaching: For preaching is a principall part of Governing, and Christ himself ruleth his Church by his Word. Hereby Bishops shall govern hearts, and make men yield unto them a true and willing obedience, reverencing God in them. Many in consumptions have recover'd their healths by returning to their native aire wherein they were born: If Episcopacy be in any declination or diminution of honour, the going back to the painfulnesse of the primitive Fathers in preaching, is the onely way to repair it.

Painfull, pious, and peaceable Ministers are his principall Favourites. If he meets them in his way (yea he will make it his way to meet them) he bestoweth all grace and lustre upon

them.

He is carefull that Church-censures be justly and solemnly inflicted: namely,

1 Admonition, when the Church onely chideth, but with

2 Excommunication, the Mittimus whereby the Male-factour is sent to the gaolour of hell, and delivered to Satan.

3 Aggravation, whereby for his greater contempt, he is removed out of the gaole into the dungeon.

4 Penance, which is or should be inward repentance, made visible by open confession, whereby the Congregation is satisfied for the publick offence given her.

5 Absolution, which setcheth the penitent out of hell, and opens the doore of heaven for him, which Excommunication had formerly lock'd, and Aggravation bolted against him.

As much as lies in his power, he either prevents or corrects those too frequent abuses, whereby offenders are not *prick'd to the heart, but let bloud in the purse; and when the Court hath her costs, the Church hath no damage given her, nor any reparation for the open scandall she received by the parties

* A#12.37.

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parties offence. Let the memory of Worthy Bishop Lake ever survive, whose hand had the true seasoning of a Sermon with Law and Gospel, and who was most fatherly grave in inflicting Church-censures: Such offenders as were unhappy in deferving, were happy in doing penance in his prelence.

He is carefull and happy in suppressing of Heresies and Schismes. He distinguisheth of Schismaticks, as Physicians do of Leprous people: Some are infectious, * others not; Some are active to seduce others, others quietly enjoy their opinions not infectious in their own consciences. The latter by his mildnesse he pany. easily reduceth to the truth; whereas the Chirurgions rigorously handling it, often breaks that bone quite off, which formerly was but out of joynt: Towards the former he useth more severity, yet endeavouring first to inform him aright, before he punisheth him. To use force first before people are fairly taught the truth, is to knock a nail into a board, without wimbling a hole for it, which then either not enters, or turns crooked, or splits the wood it pierceth.

He is very mercifull in punishing offenders: both in matter of life and livelyhood, feeing in S. Johns Language the fame word * Bio fignifies both. He had rather draw tears, then * fohn 3. 17. bloud. It was the honour of the Roman State, as yet being pagan, * In hoc gloriari licet, nulli gentium mitiores placuisse pænas: * Livim lib. Yea, for the first seventy years (till the reign of Ancus Martius) they were without a prison. Clemency therefore in a Christian Bishop is more proper. O let not the Starrs of our Church be herein turn'd to Comets, whole appearing in place of judicature, presageth to some death or destruction. I confesse that even Justice it self is a kind of mercy : But God grant that my portion of mercy be not paid me in that coin. And though the highest detestation of sinne, best agreeth with Clergy-men; yet ought they to cast a severe eye on the vice and example, and a mercifull eye on the

None more forward to forgive a wrong done to himself. Worthy Archbishop 6

The Leprofy

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* Cambd. Eli-2tb. in Anno 1568 p. 538.

Archbishop * Whitgift interceded to Queen Elizabeth for remitting of heavy fines laid on some of his Adversaries (learning from Christ his Master to be a mediatour for them) till his importunity had angred the Queen, yea and till his importunity had pleas'd her again, and gave not over

till he got them to be forgiven.

9

Socrat Ec el f Hift. lib. 5. CAP. 20.

He is very carefull on whom he layeth hands in Ordination : lest afterwards he hath just cause to beshrew his fingers, and with Martianus, a Bishop of Constantinople (who made Sabbatius a Jew and a turbulent man Priest) wish he had then rather laid his hands on the * briers, then fuch a mans head. For the sufficiency of Scholarship he goeth by his own eye, but for their honest life, he is guided by other mens hands, which would not so oft deceive him, were Testimonialls a matter of lesse courtesse and more conscience. For whosoever subscribes them enters into bond to God and the Church, under a heavy forfeiture, to avouch the hone. fly of the party commended; and, as Judah for Benjamin, they become sureties for the young man unto his father. Nor let them think to avoid the band and make it but a blank with that clause, so farre forth as we know, or words to the like effect : For what faith the Apostle? God is not mocked.

IO

He meddleth as little as may be with temporall matters: having little skill in them, and leffe will to them: Not that he is unworthy to mannage them, but they unworthy to be managed by him. Yea generally the most dexterous in spirituall matters are left-handed is temporall businesse, and go but untowardly about them. Wherefore our Bishop with reverend * Andrews, meddleth little in civill affairs, being out of his profession and element. Heaven in his vocation, and therefore he counts earthly employments avocations: except in fuch cases which lie (as I may say) in the Marches of Divinity, and have connexion with his calling; or elfe when temporall matters meddle with him, so that he must rid them out of his way. Yet he rather admireth then condema neth such of his brethren, who are strengthened with that which would diffract him, making the concurrence of spirituall

* Funerall Serm. on him PAE. 19.

Chap. 9.	The good Bishop.	269
and using worldly be employment. If calld to the Court he and people, striving to ons, and advancing use Church may floursh ther may as well cowhen pia mater is perisfour he privately tells	I power in them support one another usine the as their recreation to heaven the there doth all good of fices betweet Prince or remove all misprissions and disaffect inity and concord. They that think the when the Common wealth do how neeve that the brains may be sound thed. When in the way of the Confishers Prince of his faults, he knows b	e ii
	o the nearest way home by going farr	e
maintaining both true	er with his Prince for the Churches good, is teligion and the maintenance thereof	F ₃
brazen lerpent, the oc crilegi us Ah z take a and let it on a pavem	with pious Ezechiah to beat down the casion of Idolatry, do indeed with saway the brazen bulls from the Lavenett of stone. He joyntly advanceth the work and wages of Ministers, which	r, ne
going together make	a flourishing Clergy, with Gods ble	ř.
His martified mind vanities of the Court: to with a velvet herse-cl ding at their pomps, he scarce sees them, objects; and onely as matters. He is love frights the Swearer and he stains all oth	d is no whit moved with the magnifice to more then a dead corps is affected toth over it. He is so farre from work, that though he looks daily on them having his eyes taken up with high dmires at such, as can admire such look and feared of all, and his presence either out of his oathes or into silence her mens eyes with the clearnesse of h	n, er w
tha prayed that a dougle upon him. A Fathe tion of grace was a court, lived in	God to keep him in so slippery a place. Elable portion of Eliahs Spirit might red to descanteth hereon, that a double ponecessary for Elisha, who was grath a plentifull way, and favoured of the hereas Eliah lived poorly, and privately Z 4	ft r- i- ne y:

270	The Holy State.	Book IV.		
	And more wisdome is requisite to manage	prosperity then		
	affliction.	11 (1)		
15	In his grave writings, he aims at Gods glory	, and the Churches		
	ry, whose comments and controversies v	ewel of Salisbu-		
	ry, whole comments and controverties v	vill transmit his		
	memory to all Posterity:			
	Whose dying pen did write of Christian V			
	How Church with Church might lafely ke			
	Commend his care, although the cure de	o misse;		
	The woe is ours, the happinesse is his:			
	Who finding discords daily to encrease,			
	Because he could not live, would dy, in p	eace.		
16	He ever makes honourable mention of forein P			
	even when he differs and diffents from then	. The worst he		
	wisheth the French Church, is a Protestant I			
	the left hand of fellowship to them, and re			
	for some other, Can not Christs coat be of d			
	but also it must be of severall seams? railing			
	till these Sifters, by bastardizing one another			
	pith Church the sole heir to all truth. How			
* S G. Paul.	rend * Whitgift (knowing he had the farm			
in his life,	fend a messe of meat from his own table	to the Ministers		
	of Geneva? relieving many of them by bour			
	tions. Indeed English charity to forein prote	fant Churches,		
	in some respect is payment of a debt : their	children deserve		
	to be our welcome guests, whose Grandfathers were			
	ving hosts in the dayes of Queen Mary.			
14	He is thankfull to that Colledge whence he had	bis education. He		
17	conceiv'd himself to hear his Mother-Co			
	speaking to him in the language of Joseph to			
	ler, * But think on me, I pray thee, when it shall			
* Gen. 40. 14.	If he himself hath but little, the lesse from I	him is the more		
	acceptable: A drop from a Spunge is almud			
	water from a marith he heltowes on it Boo	In as a tuning or		
	Water from a marish, he bestowes on it Boo			
	Lands, or Building: and the Houses of the l			
	lack watering then planting, there being eno	ugh of them,		
2	they had enough.	He		
- 1		120		

The good Bishop. Chap. 9. 271 He is hospitable in his housekeeping according to his estate. His 18 bounty is with discretion to those that deserve it : Charity mistaken, which relieves idle people, like a dead corps, onely feeds the vermin it breeds. The ranknesse of his housekeeping produceth no riot in his Family. S. Paul calls a Christian Family well ordered, * a Church in their house. If a * Rom. 6. 5. private mans house be a Parochiall, a Bishops may seem a Theoph. in ho-Cathedrall Church, as much better as bigger, so decently all things therein are disposed. We come now to give a double Example of a godly Bishop: the first out of the Primitive times, the second out of the English Church since the Reformation, both excellent in their severall wayes.

CHAP. 10,

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CHAP. II.

The life of St. Augustine.

A Ugustine was born in the City of Tagasta in Africa, of Gentile parentage, Patricius and Monica, though their means bore not proportion to their birth, so that the breeding of their sonne at Learning much weakned their estate, in so much as Romanian a noble gentleman (all the world is bound to be thankfull to S. Augustines Benefactour) bountifully advanced his education.

It will be needlesse to speak of his youth, vitious in m n-

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ners and erroneous in doctrine, especially seeing he hath so largely accused himself in his Confessions. 'Tis tyranny to trample on him that prostrates himself; and whose sinnes God hath gratioully forgotten, let no man despitefully remember.

Being made a Presbyter in the Church of Hippo, this great favour was allowed him, to preach constantly, though in the presence of * Valerius the Bishop: whereas in that * Posidonius age to hear a Priest preach when that a Bishop was in the cap. 5. Church, was a great wonder as the Moon shining at mid-day. Yea godly Valerius, one that could do better then he could speak, and had a better heart then tongue, (being a Grecian, and therefore not well understood of the Africans) procured Augustine in his life time to be designed B shop of Hippo, and to be joyned * fellow-Bishop with himself, Idencap. 8. though it was flatly against the Canons.

For a coadjutour commonly proves an hinderer, and by his envious clashing, doth often dig his partners grave with whom he is joyn'd; besides that such a superinstallation feems an unlaw ull bigamy, marrying two hu bands at the same time to the same Church. Yea, S. Augustine himself, afterwards understanding that this was against the Constitutions of the Church, was forry thereat (though others thought his eminency above Canons, and his deferts his dispensation) and desiring that his ignorance herein should not misguide others, obtained that the Canons (then not so hard to be kept as known, because obscure and scattered) were compiled together and published, that the Clergy might know what they were bound to observe.

Being afterwards sole Bishop, he was diligent in continuall preaching and beating down of Hereticks, especially the Manicheans, in whole Fence-Ichool he was formerly brought up, and therefore knew best how to hit them, and guard him elf, alfothe Pelagians, the duellists against Grace, and for Freewill, which till S. Augustines time was never throughly fixed, points in Divinity being slenderly fenced till they are allaulted by Hereticks. He was also the ham-

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* See their Teness at large in our fijth book.

* August. Tom. 2. Ep. 174.

they did devoure, and their Schissine was more dangerous then their * Doctrine.

He went not lo willingly to a feast as to a conference, to reduce any erroneous persons: once he disputed with Pascentius the Arian, who requested that what passed betwix them might not be written, and afterwards give out his * bragges that he worsted Augustine in the dispute, which

report was believed of all who defired it.

In other battels if the conquered fide should be so impudent as to boaft of the victory, it will ere long be confuted by the number of their men fl in, enfignes and wagons taken, with their flight out of the field. It is not thus in the tongue-combats of diffutes, wherein no v fib'e wounds are given, and wherein bold men (though inwardly convinced with force of reason) count not themselves conquered till they confesse it; so that in effect none can be overcome except they will themselves: For some are so shamelesse that hey count not the reaule wrackt as long as any thing alive comes to the Land, so long as they have breath to talk though not to answer, and employ their hands not to untie their adversaries arguments, but onely obstinately to lay hold on their own opinions; yea after the conference ended they cry victoria in all companies wherein they come, whilest their Auditours, generally as engaged as the Disputants, will succour their Champion with partiall relations, as the Arians did in this cale of Pascentius.

But their false cavills have done the Church this true courtesse, that ever after S. Augustine set down his disputations in writing, that so the eye of the Reader m ght more steddily behold his arguments presented fixed in black and white, then when they were onely in fluxu, as passing in his words.

His clothes were neither * brave nor base, but comely: As for the black cowl of the Augustinians, which they pretend from his practice, it seemeth rather (it so ancient) to be cut with the sheers, or by the pattern, of Augustine the Monk.

*Veffis nec nind i nimitim, nec abjecta plurir tim, Peffi don.cap. 22.

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He would not receive gifts to the Church from those who had poor kindred of their own. Divinity faith, that mercy is better then facrifice; and the Law provides, that debts are

to be paid before legacies.

In case of great want he would sell the very Ornaments of the Church, and bestow the money on the poor, contrary to the * opininon of many (the thorn of Superstition began very foon to prick) who would not have such things in any case to be alienated. Sure a Communion-table will not catch cold with wanting a rich carpet, nor stumble for lack of the candles thereon in filver candlesticks. Besides, the Church might afterwards be seasonably replenished with new furniture, whereas if the poor were once sterved, they could not be revived again. But let not Sacriledge in the dis. guize of Charity make advantage hereof, and Covetousnesse, which is ever hungry till it surfeits, make a constant ordinary on Church-bread, because David in necessity fed vis. August. one meal thereon.

His diet was very cleanly and sparing, yet hospitable in the entertaining of others, and had this diffich wrote on his

table,

Quisquis amat dictis absentum rodere famam, Hanc mensam indignam noverit esse sibi. He that doth love on ablent friends to jeer, May hence depart, no room is for him here.

His family was excellently well ordered, and ten of those Scholars which were brought up under him, came after-

wards to be Bishops.

To come to his death. It hapened that the Northern countreys, called by * some Vagina gentium, the sheath of people (though more properly they may be termed, Enfis Dei, the Sword of God) sent forth the Vandals, Albans, and Gothes, into the Southern parts; God suffering the pride of the Roman Empire, to be confounded by Barbarous enemies. Out of Spain they came into Africa, and massacred all before them. The neighbouring villages, like little children, did flie to Hippo the mother-City for succour : thirteen

* De vafis Dominicis, propter captivos quamplurimos indigentes, frangi & conflari jubebar, & indigentibus difpenfari: quod non commemoraffem,nifi contra carnalem fenfum quorundam fieri perviderem, * Poffidon. in Cap. 24.

* Methodius Martyr 6 Paul. Diacon.

moneths

moneths was Hippo besieged by the Gothes, and S. Augustine being therein, prayed to God either to remove the siege, or to give the Christians therein patience to suffer, or to take him out of this miserable world; which he obtained, and dyed in the third moneth of the siege.

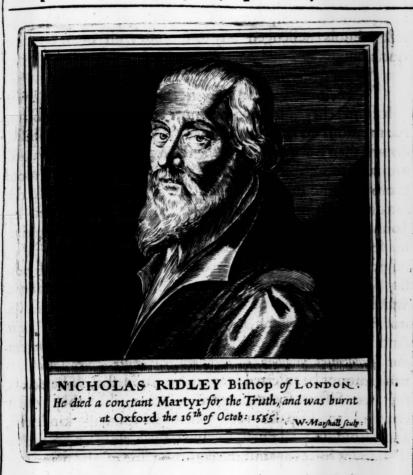
Falling very sick (besides the disease of age and grief) he lay languishing a pretty time, and took order that none should come to him, save when his meat was brought, or Physicians visited him, that so he might have elbow-room the more freely to put off the clothes of his mortality.

The motion of Piety in him (by custome now made naturall) was velocior in fine, daily breathing out most pious Ejaculations. He died intestate, not for lack of time to make a will, but means to bestow; having formerly passed his soul to God, whilest his body of course bequeathed it self to the earth. As for the books of his own making, a treasure beyond estimation, he carefully consigned them to severall Libraries. He dyed in the seventy sixth year of his age, having lived a Bishop almost source years. Thus a Saint of God, like an oak, may be cut down in a moment; but how many years was he a growing! Not long after his death, the City of Hippo was sack'd by the Gothes, it being no wonder if Troy was taken, when the Palladium was first fetch'd away from it.

CHAP. II.

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CHAP. II.

The life of Bishop RIDLEY.

Icholas Ridley born in the Bishoprick of Duresme, but descended from the ancient and worshipfull familie of the Ridleys of Willimotes-wike in Northumberland. He was brought up in Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge, where he so profited in generall Learning, that he was chosen Fellow of the Colledge, and Anno 1533 was Proctour of the University.

At which time two Oxford men, George Throgmorton,

and John Ashwell, came to Cambridge, and in the publick Schools challenged any to dispute with them on these questions,

An (Fus civile sit medicina præstantius?

Mulier condemnata, bis ruptis laqueis, sit tertio suspendenda? It feems they were men of more brow then brain, being so ambitious to be known, that they had rather be hist'd down, then not come upon the stage. Sure Oxford afforded as many more able disputants, as Civill Law yielded more profound and needfull questions. Throgmorton had the fortune of daring men, to be worsted, being so pressed by Iohn Redman and Nicholas * Ridley the opponents, that his second refused at all to dispute.

Indeed an Universitie is an onely fit match for an Univerfity; and any private man who in this Nature undertakes a whole body, being of necessity put to the worst, deserves not Phaetons Epitaph, magnis, but stultis tamen excidit ausis. And though * one objects, Neminem Cantabrigiensium con. stat Oxonienses unquam ad certamen provocasse; yet lesse learning cannot be inferred from more modestie. The best is, the two Sifters so well agree together, that they onely contend to surpasse each other in mutuall kindnesse, and forbidding all duells betwixt their children, make up their joynt forces against the common foe of them and true Religion.

He was after chosen Mafter of Pembroke-Hall, and kept the same whilest Bishop of Rochester and London, till oured in the first of Queen Marie. Not that he was covetous to hold his place in the Colledge, but the Colledge ambitious to hold him; as who would willingly part with a jewel. He was in good esteem with Henrie the eighth, and in better with pious King Edward the fixth, and was generally beloved of all the Court, being one of an handsome person, comelie presence, affable speech, and courte-

ous behaviour.

But before I go further, Reader, pardon a digression, and yet is it none, for tis necessary. I have within the narrow **Icantling**

* Cajus de Antiquit. Cant. Acad. pag. 19, 20.

*Brian Twine pag. 336.

scantling of my experimentall remembrance observed strange alteration in the worlds valuing of those learned men which lived in trust age; and take it plainly without welt or gard; for he that smarts for speaking truth, hath a playster in his own conscience.

When I was a child, I was possessed with a reverend esteem of them, as most holy and pious men, dying Martyrs in the dayes of Queen Marie, for profession of the truth; which opinion having from my Parents taken quiet possession of my soul, they must be very forcible reasons which

eject it.

Chap. 11.

Since that time they have been much cried down in the mouthes of many, who making a Coroners inquest upon their death, have found them little better then Felons de se, dying in their own bloud, for a mere formality, de modo, of the manner of the Presence, and a Sacrifice in the Sacrament, who might easily with one small distinction have knockt off their setters, and saved their lives. By such the Coronet of Martyrdome is pluckt off from their memories; and others, more moderate, equally part their death betwixt their enemies cruelty, & their own over-forwardnesse.

Since that, one might have expected that these worthy men should have been re-estated in their former honour, whereas the contrary hath come to passe. For some who have an excellent facultie in uncharitable Synecdoches, to condemne a life for an action, and taking advantage of some faults in them, do much condemne them: And * one lately hath traduced them with such language, as neither beseemed his parts (whosoever he was) that spake it, nor their piety of whom it was spoken. If pious Latimer, whose bluntnesse was incapable of flattery, had his simplicity abused with false informations, he is called another Doctour, Shaw, to divulge in his Sermon forged accusations. Cranmer and Ridley, for some failings, styled, the common stales to countenance with their prostituted gravities every politick fetch which was then on foot, as oft as the potent Statists pleased to employ them. And, as it follows not farre after, Aa 3

* Authour of the book lately printed of Causes hindring Reformation in England, lib. 1. pag. 10. Pag. 11.

Bishop Cranmer, one of King Henries Executours, and the other Bishops, none refusing (less they should resist the Duke of Northumberland) could find in their consciences to set their bands to the disenabling and defeating of the Princesse Marie, &c. Where Christian ingenuity might have pompted unto him to have made an intimation, that Cranmer (with pious Justice Hales in Kent) was last and least guilty, much resusing to subscribe; and his long resisting deserved as well to be mentioned, as his yielding at last. Yea, that very Verse, which Doctour Smith at the burning of Ridley used against him, is by the foresaid Authour (though not with so full a blow, with a slenting stroke) applyed to those Martyrs, Aman may give his body to be burnt, and yet have not charity.

Thus the prices of Martyrs ashes rise and fall in Smith-field market. However their reall worth flotes not with peoples phancies, no more then a rock in the sea rises and falls with the tide: S. Paul is still S. Paul, though the Lycaonians now would facrifice to him, and presently after would facrifice him: These Bishops, Ministers, and Laypeople, which were put to death in Queen Maries dayes, were worthy Saints of God, holy and godly men, but had their faults, failings, and imperfections. Had they not been men they had not burn't; yea had they not been more then men (by Gods assistance) they had not burn't. Every true Christian should, but none but strong Christians will, die at

the stake.

But to return to Ridley: One of the greatest things objected against him, was his counsell to King Edward (which the good Prince wash'd away with his tears) about tolerating the Masse for Princesse Mary, at the intercession of Charles the fifth Emperour, which how great it vvas, let the indifferent party give judgement, vvhen the * Historian hath given his evidence, The Bishops, of Canterbury, London, Rochester, gave their opinion, that to give licence to sinne, was sinne, but to connive at sinne, might be allowed, in case it were neither too long, nor without hope of reformation.

Another fault, wherewith he was charged, was that wofull

Haymards
Edward fixth,
pag. 291.

wofull and unhappy discord betwixt him and reverend Bishop Hooper, about the wearing of some Episcopall garments at his confectation (then in use) which Ridley pressed, and Hooper resused with equall violence, as being too many, rather loading then gracing him, and so affectedly grave, that they were light again. All we will say is this, that when worthy men fall out, onely one of them may be saulty at the first, but if such strifes continue long, commonly both become guilty: But thus Gods diamonds often cut one another, and good men cause afflictions to good men.

It was the policy of the * Lacedemonians alwayes to fend two Embassadours together, which disagreed amongst themselves, that so mutually they might have an eye on the actions each of other: Sure I am that in those Embassadours, the Ministers, which God sendeth to men, God suffereth great discords betwixt them, (Paul with Barnabas, Ierome with Ruffin, and Augustine, and the like perchance because each may be more cautious and wary of his behaviour in the view of the other. We may well behold mens weaknesse in such dissentions, but better admire Gods strength and wisdome in ordering them to his glory, and his childrens good. Sure it is, Ridley and Hooper were afterwards cordially reconciled; and let not their discords pierce farther then their reconciliation: The worst is, mens eyes are never made found with the clearnesse, but often are made fore with the bleernesse of other mens eyes in their company. The virtues of Saints are not so attractive of our imitation, as their vices and infirmities are prone to infect.

* Ridley was very gracious with King Edward the fixth, and by a Sermon he preach'd before him, so wrought upon his pious disposition, whose Princely charity rather wanted a directour then a perswader, that the King at his motion gave to the city of London,

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1 Greyfriers, now called Christ-Church, for impotent, fatherlesse, decrepid people by age or nature to be educated or maintained.

2 S. Bartholomews near Smithfield, for poore by facul-A a 4 ty,

* Arist. polit. lib. 2. cap. 7.

* Hayward Edward 6. p. 407 & fequent. ty, as wounded fouldiers, diseased and sick persons to be cur'd and relieved.

3 Bridewell, the ancient Mansion of the English Kings, for the poore by idlenesse or unthristynesse, as riotous spenders, vagabonds, loyterers, strumpets to be corrected and reduc'd to good order.

* Fr. Quarles Enchirid. pag. 1.

> * Fox. Acts Mon. An.

1555. Odob.

I like that Embleme of Charity, which * one hath expressed in a naked child, giving honey to a Bee without wings; onely I would have one thing added, namely, holding a whip in the other hand to drive away the drones: So that King Edwards have the present perfect and complete

bounty was herein perfect and complete.

To return to Ridley: His whole life was a letter written full of learning and religion, whereof his death was the seal. Brought he was with Cranmer and Latimer to Oxford, to dispute in the dayes of Queen Mary, though before a Syllogisme was form'd, their deaths were concluded on, and as afterwards came to passe, being burnt the sixteenth of October Anno 1555. in the ditch over against Balioll Colledge.

He came to the * stake in a fair black gown furr'd and fac'd with foins; a Tippet of velvet, furr'd likewise about his neck; a velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner'd

cap upon the same.

Sermon which had nothing good in it but the text (though misapplyed) and the shortnesse, being not above a quarter of an houre long. Old Hugh Latimer was Ridleys partner at the stake, sometimes Bishop of Worcester, who crauled thither after him; one who had lost more learning then many ever had, who flout at his plain Sermons; though his down-right style was as necessary in that ignorant age, as it would be ridiculous in ours. Indeed he condescended to peoples capacity; and many men unjustly count those low in learning, who indeed do but stoop to their Auditours. Let me see any of our sharp Wits do that with the edge, which his bluntnessed did with the back of the knife, and perswade so many to restitution of ill-gotten goods. Though he came after Ridley to the stake, he got before him to hea-

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ven: his body, made tinder by age, was no sooher touch'd by the fire, but instantly this old Simeon had his Nunc dimittie, and brought the news to heaven that his brother was

following after.

But Ridley suffered with farre more pain, the fire about him being not well made: And yet one would think that age should be skilfull in making such bonefires, as being much practised in them. The Gunpowder that was given him, did him little service, and his Brother-in-law, out of desire to rid him out of pain, encreased it, (great grief will not give men leave to be wife with it) heaping sewell upon him to no purpose; so that neither the fagors which his enemies anger, nor his Brothers good will cast upon him, made the fire to burn kindly.

In like manner, not much before, his dear friend Master *Hooper suffered with great torment; the wind (which too often is the bellows of great fires) blowing it away from him once, or twice. Of all the Martyrs in those dayes, these two endured most pain, it being true that each

of them.

Quarebat in ignibus ignes: And still he did desire, For fire in midd'st of fire.

Both desiring to burn, and yet both their upper parts were but Confessours, when their lower parts were Martyrs, and burnt to ashes: Thus God, where he hath given the stronger faith, he layeth on the stronger pain. And so we leave them going up to Heaven, like Eliah, in a chariot of fire.

CHAP. 12.

The true Nobleman.

HE is a Gentleman in a Text Letter; because bred, and living in an higher and larger way. Conceive him when young, brought up at School, in ludo literario, where he

* See Mr.Fox Acts of Mon. on Hoopers death. Max ime I

did not take ludus to himself, and leave literarius to others, but seriously applyed himself to learning, and afterwards coming to his estate, thus behaves himself.

Goodnesse sanctifies his Greatnesse, and Greatnesse supports his Goodnesse. He improves the upper ground whereon he stands,

thereby to do God the more glory.

* Stainte 14. of Ric, 2.6.11. He counts not care for his Countreys good to be beneath his state. Because he is a great pillar, shall he therefore bear the lesse weight, never meddling with matters of Justice? Can this be counted too low for a Lord, which is high enough for a King? our Nobleman freely serves his Countrey, counting his very work a sufficient reward. (As by our *Laws no Duke, Earl, Baron, or Baronet, though Justices of Peace, may take any wages at the Sessions.) Yea he detesteth all gainfull wayes, which have the least blush of dishonour: For the Merchant Nobility of Florence and Venice (how highly soever valued by themselves) passe in other countreys with losse and abatement of repute; as if the scarlet robes of their honour, had a stain of the stamell die in them.

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He is carefull in the thrifty managing of his estate. Gold, though the most solid and heavy of metalls, yet may be beaten out so thin, as to be the lightest and slightest of all things. Thus Nobility, though in it self most honourable, may be so attenuated through the smalnesse of means, as thereby to grow neglected. Which makes our Nobleman to practice Solomons precept, * Be diligent to know the state of thy flocks, and look well to thine herds; for the Crown doth not endure to every generation. If not the Crown, much lesse the Coronet; and good husbandry may as well stand with great honour, as breadth may consist with height.

* Prov. 27.

If a weak estate be left him by his Ancesters, he seeks to repair it, by thrifty wayes, yet noble: as by travelling, sparing abroad, till his state at home may outgrow debts and pensions: Hereby he gains experience, and saves expense, sometimes living private, sometimes shewing himself at an half light, and sometimes appearing like himself as occasion requires;

or

or else by betaking himself to the warres: Warre cannot but in thankfulnesse grace him with an office, which graceth her with his person; or else by warlike sea-adventures wisely undertaken, and providently managed: otherwise, this course hath emptied more full, then filled empty purses, and many thereby have brought a Galeon to a Gally; or lastly, by match with wealthy Heirs, wherein he is never so attentive to his profit, but he listens also to his honour.

In proportion to his means, he keeps a liberall house. This much takes the affections of countrey people, whose love is much warmed in a good kitchin, and turneth much on the hinges of a buttery doore often open. Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford of that sirname, was so bountifull to the poor, that Queen Elizabeth would merrily complain of him, that he made all the beggers: sure its more honourable for Noblemen to make beggers by their liberality, then by their oppression. But our Nobleman is especially carefull to see all things discharged which he taketh up. When the corps of Thomas Howard second Duke of Norfolk were carried to be interred in the Abby of Thetford, Anno 1524. no person could demand of him one groat for debt, or restitution for any injury done by him.

His servants are best known by the coat and cognizance of their civill behaviour. He will not entertain such rustianlike men, who know so well who is their Master, that they know not who they are themselves, and think their Lords reference is their innocence, to bear them out in all unlawfull actions. But our Lords house is the Colledge wherein the children of the neighbouring Gentry and Yeomanry are bred, and there taught by serving of him to rule themselves.

He hateth all oppression of his tenants and neighbours; disdaining to crush a mean Gentleman for a meaner offence; and counts it no conquest but an execution from him who on his side hath the odds of height of place, strength of arme, and length of weapon. But as the Proverb saith, No grasse grows where the grand Seigniours horse sets his feet; so too often nothing but grasse grows where some Great men set their

footing,

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* Weavers fun. Mon.pag.83.

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* Morifons Travells, chap. I. Part. I.pag. 5. Tet afterward upon read mission of the poor to it, it ran again.

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footing, no towns or till to must be turn'd into depopulating pastures, and or must be turn'd into depopulating pastures, and or more into enclosures. Nigh
the city of Lunenburge any, flowed a plentifull salt
spring, till such time as the rich men, engrossing all the profit to themselves, would not suffer the poor to make any salt
thereof; whereupon God and Nature being offended at their
covetousnesse, the spring ceased, and ran no more for a
time. Thus hath Gods punishment overtaken many great
men, and stopp'd his blessing towards them, which formerly flowed plentifully unto them, for that they have wronged
poor people of their commonage, which or right belonged
unto them.

In his own pleasures he is careful to neighbours profit. Though his horses cannot have wings like his hawks to spoil no grasse or grain as he passeth, yet he is very carefull to make as little waste as possible may be: his horses shall not trample on loaves of bread as he hunteth, so that whilest he seeks to gather a twig for himself, he breaks the staff of the Common-wealth.

All the countrey are his Retainers in love and observance. When they come to wait on him, they leave not their hearts at home behind them, but come willingly to tender their respects. The holding up of his hand is as good as the displaying of a banner; thousands will flock to him, but it must be for the Kings and Countreys service. For he knows that he that is more then a Lord, if his cause be loyall, is lesse then a private man, if it be otherwise: with S. * Paul, he can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth. Thus Queen Elizabeth christened the youngest daughter of Gilbert Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury (now Countesse of Arundell) Aletheia, Truth, out of true * consideration and judgement, that the house of the Talbots was ever loyall to the Crown.

Some priviledges of Noblemen be endeavours to deserve: namely such priviledges as are completely Noble, that so his merits as well as the Law should allow them unto him. He conceives this word, On mine Honour, wraps up a great deal in

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* 2. Cor.13.8.

* Vincents difcov of Brooks Errours, pag. 470.

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it; which unfolded and then measured, will be found to be a large attestation, and no lesse then an ecliptical oath, calling God to witnesse, who hath bestowed that Honour upon him. And seeing the State is so tender of him, that he shall not be forced to swear in matters of moment in Courts of Justice, he is carefull not to swear of his own accord in his sports and pleasures. Other priviledges of Noblemen he labours not to have need of, namely such as presuppose a fault, are but honourable penalties, and excuse from shamefull punishments. Thus he is not to be bound to the * peace. And what needs he; who hath the peace alwayes bound to him, being of his own accord alwayes carefull to preserve it, and of so noble a disposition, he will never be engaged in any braules or contentions.

To give an instance of such a Nobleman seems to be needlesse, hoping that at this time in one city of this Realm, and in one room of that city, many such Noblemen are to be

found together.

* Lamb. Justice of Peace, pag.83.

Снар. 13.

The Court-Lady.

To describe an Holy State without a virtuous Lady therein, were to paint out a yeare without a Spring: we come therefore to her Character.

She sets not her face so often by her glasse, as she composeth her soul by Gods word. Which hath all the excellent qualities of a glasse indeed.

1 It is clear: in all points necessary to Salvation, except to such whose eyes are blinded.

2 It is true: not like those false glasses some Ladyes dresse themselves by. And how common is flattery at Court, when even glasses have learnt to be parasites?

3 It is large; presenting all spots Cap-a-pe, behind and before, within and without.

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4 It is durable: though in one sense it is broken too often (when Gods Laws are neglected), yet, it will last to break them that break it, and one tittle thereof shall not fall to the ground.

5 This glasse hath power to smooth the wrinkles, cleanse the spots, and mend the faults it discovers.

She walks humbly before God in all religious duties. Humbly: For she well knows that the strongest Christian is like the city of Rome, which was never besieged but it was taken; and the best Saint without Gods assistance, would be as of ten soyled as tempted. She is most constant and diligent at her houres of private prayer. Queen Katharine Dowager never kneeld on a * cushion when she was at her devotions: This matters not at all; our Lady is more carefull of her heart then of her knees, that her soul be settled aright.

She it carefull and most tender of her credit and reputation. There is a tree in * Mexicana which is so exceedingly tender, that a man cannot touch any of his branches, but it withers presently. A Ladyes credit is of equall nicenesse, a small touch may wound and kill it; which makes her very cautious what company she keeps. The Latine tongue seems somewhat injurious to the seminine sex; for whereas therein Amicus is a friend, Amica alwayes signifies a Sweetheart; as if their sex in reference to men, were not capable of any other kind of samiliar friendship, but in way to marriage: which makes our Lady avoid all privacie with suspicious company.

Yet is she not more carefull of her own credit, then of Gods glory; and stands up valiantly in the defence thereof. She hath read how at the Coronation of King Richard the second, Dame *Margaret Dimock, wife to St John Dimock, came into the Court, and claimed the place to be the Kings Champion, by the virtue of the tenure of her Mannour of Scrinelby in Lincolnshire, to challenge and defie all such as opposed the Kings right to the Grown. But if our Lady heares any speaking disgracefully of God or Religion, she counts her self bound by her tenure (whereby she holds possession

* Sanders. de Schism. Auglie, lib.1.p.5.

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* Doctour Heylens Microcof. pag. 783.

* She claimed the place, but her husband performed theo office, Lelands ('olle. Fit. 1. pag. 299' ıll.

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* Ifaiah. 3.

their true greatnesse. But what a vast overgrown creature would some guesse a woman to be, taking his aim by the multitude and variety of clothes and ornaments, which some of them use: insomuch as the ancient Latines called a womans wardrope, Mundus, a World; wherein notwithstanding was much terra incognita then undiscovered, but since found out by the curiofity of modern Fashion-mongers. We find a mappe of this world drawn by Gods Spirit, Isaiah the third, wherein one and twenty womens ornaments (all superfluous) are reckoned up, which at this day are much encreased. The * Moons, there mentioned, which they wore on their heads, may feem fince grown to the full in the lu-

xury of afterages.

She is contented with that beauty which God hath given her. If very handsome, no whit the more proud, but farre the more thankfull: If unhandsome, she labours to better it in the virtues of her mind; that what is but plain cloth without, may be rich plush within. Indeed such naturall defects as hinder her comfortable serving of God in her calling, may be amended by art; and any member of the body being defective, may thereby be lawfully supplied. Thus glasseeyes may be used, though not for seeing, for sightlinesse. But our Lady detefteth all adulterate complexions, finding no president thereof in the Bible save one, and her so bad, that Ladyes would blush through their paint, to make her the pattern of their imitation. Yet are there many that think the groffest fault in painting, is to paint groffely (making their faces with thick daubing, not onely new pictures, but new statues) and that the greatest sinne therein, is to be discover'd.

In her marriage she principally respects virtue and religion, and next that, other accomodations, as we have * formerly difcours'd of. And she is carefull in match, not to bestow her self unworthily beneath her own degree to an ignoble person, except in case of necessity. Thus the Gentlewomen * in Champaigne in France some three hundred years fince, were enforced to marry Yeomen and Farmers, because

* Vid. 3. Book chap. of Marriage.

* Andr. Favin in his Theater of Honour, 1. Book, chap the 6.

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all the Nobility in that countrey were slain in the warres, in the two voyages of King Lewis to Palestine: and thereupon ever since by custome and priviledge, the Gentlewomen of Champaigne and Brye ennoble their husbands, and give them honour in marrying them, how mean soever before.

Though pleasantly affected, she is not transported with Court-delights: as in their statelie Masques and Pageants. Seeing Princes cares are deeper then the cares of private men, it is sit their recreations also should be greater, that so their mirth may reach the bottome of their sadnesse: yea God allows to Princes a greater latitude of pleasure. He is no friend to the tree, that strips it of the bark; neither do they mean well to Majestie, which would deprive it of outward shews, and State-solemnities, which the servants of Princes may in loyalty and respect present to their Sovereigne; however, our Lady by degrees is brought from delighting in such Masques, onely to be contented to see them, and at last (perchance) could desire to be excused from that also.

Yet in her reduced thoughts she makes all the sport she hath seen earnest to her self: It must be a dry flower indeed out of which this bee lucks no honey: they are the best Origens, who do allegorife all earthly vanities into heavenly truths. When the remembreth how fuddenly the Scene in the Masque was altered (almost before moment it self could take notice of it) she considereth, how quickly mutable all things are in this world, God ringing the changes on all accidents, and making them tunable to his glorie: The lively representing of things so curiously, that Nature her self might grow jealous of Art, in outdoing her, minds our Lady to make fure work with her own foul, feeing hypocrific may be so like to fincerity. But, O what a wealthy exchequer of beauties did she there behold, severall faces most different, most excellent, (so great is the variety even in bests) what a rich mine of jewels above ground, all to brave, to coltly! To give Court-malques their due, of II

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all the bubbles in this world, they have the greatest variety of fine colours. But all is quickly ended : this is the spight of the world, if ever the affordeth fine ware, the alwayes pincheth it in the measure, and it lasts not long: But oh, thinks our Lady, how glorious a place is Heaven, where there are joyes for evermore. If an herd of kine should meet together to phancy and define happinesse, they would place it to consist in fine pastures, sweet grasse, clear water, shadowie groves, constant summer; but if any winter, then warm shelter and dainty hay, with company after their kind, counting these low things the highest happinesse, because their conceit can reach no higher. Little better do the Heathen Poets describe Heaven, paving it with pearl, and roofing it with starres, filling it with Gods and Goddesses, and allowing them to drink (as if without it no Poets Paradise) Nectar and Ambrosia; Heaven indeed being Poeta. rum dedecus, the shame of Poets, and the disgrace of all their Hyperboles, falling as farre short of truth herein, as they go beyond it in other Fables. However the fight of fuch glorious earthly spectacles, advantageth our Ladyes conceit by infinite multiplication thereof to confider of Heaven.

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fmell to a turf of fresh earth is wholsome for the body; no lesse are thoughts of mortality cordiall to the soul. Earth thou art, to earth thou shalt return: The sight of death when it cometh vill neither be so terrible to her, nor so strange, who hath formerly often beheld it in her serious meditations. With * Job she saith to the worm, Thou art my sister: If sair Ladyes scorn to own the worms their kinred in this life, their kinred will be bold to challenge them when dead in their graves: for when the soul (the best persume of the body) is departed from it, it becomes so noysome a carcase, that should I make a description of the lothsomnesse thereof, some dainty dames would hold their noses in

She reades constant lectures to her self of her own mortality. To

* fob 17. 14.

To conclude: We reade how Henry a Germain Prince, was admonished by revelation to search for a writing in an

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old wall, which should nearly concern him, wherein he found onely these two words written, * Post Sex, AFTER Six. Whereupon Henry conceive that his was foretold, which after fix dayes should ruste, passe those dayes in constant preparation for the made him fame. But finding the fix dayes past without the effect in spected, he successively persevered in his godly resolutions lix weeks, fix moneths, fix years, and on the first day of the seventh yeare the Prophecie was fulfill'd, though orneswife then he interpreted it; for thereupon he was cholen Emperour of Germany, having before gotten fuch an habit of piety, that he persisted in his religious course for ever after. Thus our Lady hath so inur'd her self, all the dayes of her appointed time to wait till her change cometh, that expecting it every houre, The is alwayes provided for that, then which nothing is more certain or uncertain.

* Surius in vita Sancti Henr. July 14. @ Baronius in Anno



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CHAP. 14.

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CHAP. 14.

The life of Ladie JANE GREY.

JAne Grey, eldest daughter of Henry Grey Marquesse of Dorset, and Duke of Suffolk, by Francis Brandon eldest daughter of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, and Mary his wife youngest daughter to King Henrie the seventh, was by her parents bred according to her high birth, in Religion and Learning. They were no whit indulgent to her in her childhood, but extremely severe, more then needed to so sweet a temper; for what need iron instruments to bow wax?

But as the sharpest winters (correcting the ranknesse of the earth) cause the more healthfull and fruitfull summers: so the harshnesse of her breeding, compacted her soul to the greater patience and pietie, so that afterwards she proved the miroir of her age, and attained to be an excellent Scholar through the teaching of Mr Elmer her Master.

Once Mr Roger Ascham, coming to wait on her at Broadgates in Leicestershire, found her in her chamber reading Phædon-Platonis in Greek, with as much delight as some Gentleman would have read a merry tale in Bocchace, Whilest the Duke her father with the Dutchesse, and all their houshold were hunting in the Park: He askt of her, how she could lose such pastime? who smiling answered, I wisse all the sport in the Park is but the shadow of what pleasure I find in this book; adding moreover, that one of the greatest blessings God ever gave her, was in sending her sharp parents, and a gentle Schoolmaster, which made her take delight in nothing so much as in her studies.

About this time John Dudley Duke of Northumberland projected for the English Crown: But being too low to reach it in his own person, having no advantage of royall birth, a match was made betwixt Guilford his fourth sonne, and this Lady Jane; the Duke hoping so to reigne in his daughter-in-law, on whom King Edward the sixth by will, passing by his own sisters, had entayled the Crown: And not long after that godly King, who had some defects, but sew saults (and those rather in his age then person) came to his grave; it being uncertain whether he went, or was sent thither. If the latter be true, the crying of this Saint under the Altar, beneath which he was buried in King Henries Chappell (without any other monument, then that of his own virtues) hath been heard long since for avenging his bloud.

Presently after Lady Jane was proclaimed Queen of England. She lifted not up her least finger to put the Diadem on her self, but was onely contented to sit still, whilest others endeavoured to Crown her; or rather was so farre

* Ascham's Schoolmaster, lib. 1. fol. 10.

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from biting at the bait of Sovereignty, that unwillingly she

opened her mouth to receive it.

Then was the Duke of Northumberland made Generall of an Army, and sent into Suffolk to suppresse the Lady Marie, who there gathered men to claim the Crown. This Duke was appointed out of the policie of his friend-seeming enemies for that employment: For those, who before could not endure the scorching heat of his displeasure at the Counsell-table, durst afterwards oppose him, having gotten the skreen of London-walls betwixt him and them. They also stinted his journeys every day (thereby appointing the steps by which he was to go down to his own grave) that he should march on very slowly, which caused his confusion. For lingring doth tire out treacherous designes, which are to be done all on a sudden, and gives breath to loyalty to recover it self.

His army like a sheep, lest part of his sleece on every bush it came by, at every stage and corner some conveying themselves from him, till his Souldiers were wash'd away, before any storm of warre fell upon them. Onely some sew, who were chain'd to the Duke by their particular engagements, and some great Persons hopelesse to conceal themselves, as being too big for a cover, stuck fast unto him. Thus those enterprises need a strong hand, which are thrown against the bias of peoples hearts and consciences. And not long after, the Norsolk and Sussolk Protestant Gentry (Loyaltie alwayes lodgeth in the same breast with true Religion) proclaimed and set up Queen Marie, who got the Crown by Our Father, and held it by Pater noster.

Then was the late Queen, now Lady Jane Grey, brought from a Queen to a prisoner, and committed to the Tower. She made misery it self amiable by her pious and patient behaviour: Adversitie, her night-clothes, becoming her as well as her day-dressing, by reason of her pious deport-

ment.

During her imprisonment, many moved her to alter her religion, and especially Mr Fecnam sent unto her by Queen Mary: all

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Monum. pag.

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Mary: but how wisely and religiously she answer'd him, I referre the Reader to Mr Fox, * where it is largely recorded. And because I have mentioned that Book, wherein this Ladyes virtues are so highly commended, I am not ignorant that of late great dilgrace hath been thrown on that Authour, and his worthy Work, as being guilty of much fallehood: chiefly, because sometimes he makes Popish Doctours, well known to be rich in learning, to real in very poorely; and the best Fencers of their Schools, worsted and put out of their play by some countrey poore Protestants. But let the cavillers hereat know, that it is a great matter to have the oddes of the weapon, Gods word on their fide; not to fay any thing of supernaturall assistance given them. Sure for the main, his Book is a worthy work (wherein the Reader may rather leave then lack) and seems to me, like Ætna, alwayes burning, whileft the smoke hath almost put out the eyes of the adverse party; and these Foxes firebrands have brought much annoyance to the Romish Philistines. But it were a miracle if in so voluminous a work, there were nothing to be justly reproved, so great a Pomgranate not having any rotten kernell must onely grow in Paradile. And though perchance he held the beam at the best advantage for the Protestant partie to weigh down, yet, generally he is a true Writer, and never vvilfully deceiveth, though he may sometimes be unwillingly deceived.

To return to the Lady Jane: Though Queen Marie of her own disposition was inclined finally to pardon her, yet necessity of State was such, as she must be put to death. Some report her to have been with child when the was beheaded (crueltie to cut down the tree with blossomes on it), and that that which hath faved the life of many women, hastned her death; but God onely knows the truth hereof. On Tower-hill she most patiently, Christianly, and 1553. Feb. 12. constantly yielded to God her foul, which by a bad way went to the best end. On whom the foresaid Authour (whence the rest of her life may be supplied) bestowes

thele verles.

Nescio

* Burton of Leicestershire,

pag. 105.

Nescio tu quibus es, Lector, lecturus ocellis:

Hoc scio, quod siccis scribere non potui.

What eyes thou readst with, Reader, know I not:

Mine were not drie, when I this storie wrote.

She had the innocencie of childhood, the beautie of youth, the soliditie of middle, the gravitie of old age, and all at eighteen: the birth of a Princesse, the learning of a Clerk, the life of a Saint, yet the death of a Malesactour, for her parents offenses. I confesse, I never read of any canonized Saint of her name, a thing whereof some Papists are so scrupulous, that they count it an unclean and unhallowed thing to be of a name whereof never any Saint was: which made that great Jesuit Arthur Faunt (as his kinsman tell's us) change his Christian name to Laurence. But let this worthy Lady passe for a Saint; and let all great Ladyes, which bear her name, imitate her virtues, to whom I wish her inward holinesse, but farre more outward happinesse.

Yet lest Goodnesse should be discouraged by this Ladyes infelicitie, we will produce another example, which shall

be of a fortunate virtue.



CHAP. 15.

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CHAP. 15.

The life of Queen ELIZABETH.

Eintermeddle not with her description as she was a Sovereigne Prince, too high for our pen, and performed by others already, though not by any done so fully, but that still room is lest for the endeavours of Posteritie to adde thereunto. We consider her onely as she was a worthy Lady, her private virtues rendring her to the imitation, and her publick to the admiration of all.

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* See these flanders plainly confuted in Anti-Sander. Dialog. 2. pag. 125. & deinceps. make her Mother-descent seem low, which otherwise considered in it self was very noble and honourable. As for the bundle of scandalous aspersions by some cast on her birth, they are best to be buried without once * opening of them. For as the basest rascall will presume to miscall the best Lord, when farre enough out of his hearing; so slanderous tongues think they may run riot in railing on any, when once got out of the distance of time, and reach of consutation.

But Majestie which dieth not, will not suffer it self to be so abused, seeing the best assurance which living Princes have, that their memories shall be honourably continued, is founded (next to their own deserts) in the maintaining of the unstained reputation of their Predecessours. Yea divine Justice seems herein to be a compurgatour of the parents of Queen Elizabeth; in that Nicholas Sanders, a Popish Priest, the first raiser of these wicked reports, was accidentally samished as he roved up and down in Ireland; either because it was just he should be sterved, that formerly surfeted with lying; or because that Iland out of a natural antipathy against poysonous creatures, would not lend life to so venemous a slanderer.

Under the reigne of her Father, and Brother King Edward the fixth, (who commonly called her his Sifter Temperance) she lived in a Princely fashion. But the case was altered with her, when her Sister Marie came to the Crown, who ever look'd upon her with a jealous eye, and frowning face: chiefly, because of the difference betwixt them in religion. For though Qireen Marie is said of her self not so much as to have bark'd, yet she had under her those who did more then bite; and rather her religion then disposition was guiltie in countenancing their crueltie by her authoritie.

This antipathy against her Sister Elizabeth was encreased, with the remembrance how Katharine Dowager, Queen Maries Mother, was justled out of the bed of Henrie the eighth by Anna Bullen, Mother to Queen Elizabeth: so that these

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these two Sisters were born, as I may say, not onely in severall, but opposite horizons; so that the elevation and bright appearing of the one, inserred the necessary obscuritie and depression of the other; and still Queen Marie was troubled with this fit of the Mother, which incensed her against this her half Sister.

To which two grand causes of opposition, this third may also be added, because not so generally known, though in it self of lesser consequence. Queen Marie had released Edward Courtney Earl of Devonshire out of the Tower, where long he had been detained prisoner, a Gentleman of a beautifull body, sweet nature, and royall descent, intending him, as it was generally conceived, to be an husband for her self. For when the said Earl petitioned the Queen for leave to travel, she advised him rather to marry, ensuring him that no Lady in the land, how high soever, would refuse him for an husband; and urging him to make his choice where he pleased, she pointed her self out unto him as plainly, as might stand with the modesty of a maid, and Majestie of a Queen. Hereupon the young Earl (whether because that his long durance had some influence on his brain, or that naturally his face was better then his head, or out of some private phancie and affection to the Lady Elizabeth, or out of loyall bashfulnesse, not presuming to climbe higher, but expecting to be call'd up) is said to have requested the Queen for leave to marry her Sister the Lady Elizabeth, unhappy that his choice either went so high or no higher: For who could have spoken worse Treason against Mary (though not against the Queen) then to preferre her Sifter before her? and she, innocent Lady, did afterwards dearly pay the score of this Earls indiscretion.

For these reasons, Lady Elizabeth was closely kept, and narrowly sisted all her Sisters reigne, S. Bedenisield her keeper using more severity towards her, then his place required, yea more then a good man should, or a wiseman would have done. No doubt the least tripping of her foot, should have cost her the losing of her head, if they

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This Lady as well deserved the title, of Elizabeth the Confessour, as ever Edward her ancient predecessour did. Mr As. cham was a good Schoolmaster to her, but affliction was a better; so that it is hard to say, whether she was more happy in having a Crown so soon, or in having it no sooner, till

affliction had first laid in her a low (and therefore sure) foundation of humility, for highnesse to be afterwards built thereupon.

We bring her now from the Crosse to the Crown; and come we now to describe the rare endowments of her mind, when behold her virtues almost stifle my pen, they crowd

She was an excellent Scholar, understanding the Greek, and perfectly speaking the Latine: witnesse her extempore speech, in answer to the Polish Embassadour, and another at Cambridge, Et si faminilis iste meus pudor (for so it began) elegantly making the word * Faminilis: and well might she mint one new word, who did * refine so much new gold and silver. Good skill she had in the French, and Italian, using Interpreters not for need, but state. She was a good Poet in English, and sluently made verses. In her time of persecution, when a Popish Priess pressed her very hardly, to declare her opinion concerning the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, she truly and warily presented her judgement in these verses.

Twas God the Word that spake it, He took the bread and brake it; And what the Word did make it, That I believe, and take it.

And though perchance some may say, this was but the best of shifts, and the worst of answers, because the distinct manner of the Presence must be believed; yet none can deny it to have been a wise return to an adversary, who lay at wait for all advantages. Nor was her Poetick vein lesse happy in Latine. When a little before the Spanish Invasion in eightie eight, the Spanish Embassadour (after a larger representation

* See her oration at large in Holinshead, pag. 1026. * Moneta ad suum valorem reducta, is part of the Epitaph

on her Tombe.

presentation of his Masters demands) had summed up the effect thereof in a Tetrastich, she instantly in one verse rejoyned her answer. We will presume to English both, though confessing the Latine loseth lustre by the Translation.

Te veto nè pergas bello defendere Belgas:
Qua Dracus eripuit nunc restutentur oportet:
Quas Pater evertit jubeo te condere cellas:
Relligio Papa sac restituetur ad unguem.
These to you are our commands,
Send no help to th' Netherlands:
Of the treasure took by Drake,
Restitution you must make:
And those Abbies build anew,
Which your Father overthrew:
If for any peace you hope,
In all points restore the Pope.

The Queens extempore return, Ad Græcas, bone Rex, fient mandata calendas. Worthy King, know this your will At latter lammas wee'l fulfill.

Her pietie to God was exemplary, none more constant or devout in private prayers; very attentive also at Sermons, wherein she was better affected with soundnesse of matter, then queintnesse of expression: She could not well digest the affected over-elegancie of such, as prayed for her by the title of Defendresse of the faith, and not the Defender; it being no false construction, to apply a masculine word to so heroick a spirit.

She was very devout in returning thanks to God, for her constant and continuall preservations; for one traitours stab was scarce put by, before another took aim at her: But as if the poysons of treason by custome, were turn'd natural unto her, by Gods protection they did her no harm. In any designe of consequence, she loved to be long and well advised; but where her resolutions once seised, she would never let go her hold, according to her motto, Semper

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By her Temperance she improved that stock of health which Nature bestowed on her, using little wine, and lesse Physick. Her Continence from pleasures was admirable. and she the Paragon of spotlesse chastity, what ever some Popish Priests (who count all virginitie hid under a Nunnes veil) have feigned to the contrary. The best is their words are no flander, whose words are all flander. fo given to railing, that they must be dumbe if they do not blaspheme Magistrates. * One Jesuit made this false Anagram on her name,

* Edmond Campian.

* Our English Bibles call her Fozabel.

Elizabeth. * Jesabel.

false both in matter and manner. For allow it the abatemen of H, (as all Anagrams must sue in Chancery for moderate favour), yet was it both unequall and omnious that T, a solid letter, should be omitted, the presage of the gallows whereon this Anagrammatist was afterwards justly executed.

* Thuan. Hift. lib. 82.

Yea let the testimonie of Pope * Sixtus Quintus himself be believed, who professed, that amongst all the Princes in Christendome, he found but two which were worthy to bear command, had they not been stained with heresie, namely Henrie the fourth, King of France, and Elizabeth Queen of England. And we may presume that the Pope, if

commending his enemie, is therein infallible.

We come to her death, the discourse whereof was more welcome to her from the mouth of her private Confessour, then from a publick Preacher; and she loved rather to tell her self, then to be told of her mortalitie; because the open mention thereof, made (as she conceived) her subjects divide their loyaltie betwixt the present and the future Prince. We need look into no other cause of her sicknesse, then old age, being seventie years old (Davids age), to which no King of England fince the Conquest did attain. Her weaknelle was encreased by her removall from London to Richmond in a cold winter day, sharp enough to pierce thorow those who were arm'd with health and youth. Also melan. choly choly (sthe worst naturall Parasite, whosoever seeds him, shall never be rid of his company) much afflicted her, be-

ing given over to sadnesse and silence.

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Then prepared she her self for another world, being more constant in prayer, and pious exercises then ever before: yet spake she very little to any, sighing out more then she said, and making still musick to God in her heart. And as the red rose, though outwardly not so fragrant, is inwardly farre more cordiall then the damask, being more thristie of its sweetnesse, and reserving it in it self; so the religion of this dying Queen, was most turn'd inward in soliloquies betwixt God and her own soul, though she vvanted not outvard expressions thereof. When her speech sail'd her, she spake vvith her heart, tears, eyes, hands, and other signes, so commending her self to God the best interpreter, vvho understands vvhat his Saints desire to say. Thus dyed Queen Elizabeth, vvhilest living the first maid on earth, and vvhen dead, the second in heaven.

Surely the kingdome had dyed with their Queen, had not the fainting spirits thereof been refresh'd, by the coming

in of gratious King James.

She vvas of perion, tall; of hair and complexion, fair, vvell-favoured, but high-noied; of limbes and feature, neat; of a stately and majestick deportment. She had a piercing eye vvherewith she used to touch vvhat metall strangers vvere made of, vvhich came into her presence. But as she counted it a pleasant conquest, vvith her Majestick look to dash strangers out of countenance, so she vvas mercifull in pursuing those vvhom she overcame, and aftervvards vvould cherish and comfort them vvith her smiles, if perceiving tovvardlinesse, and an ingenuous modestie in them. She much affected rich and costly apparell; and if ever jevvells had just cause to be proud, it vvas vvith her vvearing them.

CHAP. 16.

HAP. 16.

The Embassadour.

E is one that reprelents his King in a fortein countrey, (as a Deputie doth in his own Dominions) under the assurance of the publick faith, authorized by the Law of Nations. He is either Extraordinary for some one affair with time limited or Ordinarie for generall matters, during his

Princes pleasure, commonly called à Legier.

Maxime 1

* (omin.lib.5. eap. 14.

* Some say they sentthree, and one of them a fool, and that Cato fent an Embaffy without bead, beart, or feet. Sce Plutarchs Lives.

should say they

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He is born, made, or at least wife qualified honourably, both for the honour of the sender, and him to whom he is sent ; especially if the folemnitie of the action wherein he is employed, confisteth in ceremonie, and magnificence. Lewis the eleventh King of France, is sufficiently condemn'd by Posteritie, for fending Oliver his Barber in an Embassage toa Princesse, who so trimly dispatch'd his businesse, that he lest it in the suddes, and had been well wash'd in the river * at Gant for his pains, if his feet had not been the more nimble. Ho is of a proper, at leift paffable person. Otherwise if he be of a contemptible presence, he is absent whilest he is present; especially if employed in love-businesses to advance a marriage. Ladyes will diflike the body for a deformed shadow. The jest is well known! When the State of Rome fent *two Embassadours, the one having scarres on his head, the other lame in his feet, Mittit populus Romanus legationem que nec capat habet, nec pedes, The people of Rome fend an Embassy without head or feet.

bli He hath a competent estate whereby to maintain his port: for 2 great povertie is ever suspected; and he that hath a breach in his estate, lies open to be affaulted with bribes. Wherefore his means ought at least to be sufficient, both to defray set and conflam charges, as also to make sallies and excursions of expenses on extraordinary occasions, which we may call Supererogations of State. Otherwise if he be indigent and succeed a bountifull Predecessour, he will seem a fallow field

after a plontifull crop.

He

Chap. 16. The Embassadour.	307
He is a passable scholar, well travell'd in Countreys and Histories; well studied in the Pleas of the Crown, I mean not such as are at home, betwixt his Sovereigne and his subjects, but abroad betwixt his and forrein Princes; to this end he is well skill'd in the Emperiall Laws. Common-Law it self is out-lawed beyond the seas; which though a most true, is too short a measure of right, and reacheth not forrein kingdomes.	4
He well understandeth the language of that countrey to which he is sent; and yet he desires rather to seem ignorant of it (if such a simulation which stands neuter betwixt a Truth and a Lie be lawfull), and that for these reasons: first, because though he can speak it never so exactly, his eloquence therein will be but stammering, compar'd to the ordinary talk of the Natives: secondly, hereby he shall in a manner stand invisible, and view others; and as Josephs deafnesse heard all the dialogues betwixt his brethren, so his not owning to understand the language, shall expose their talk the more open unto him: thirdly, he shall have the more advantage to speak, and negotiate in his own language; at the least wise, if he cannot make them come over to him, he may meet them in the midway, in the Latine, a speech common to all	5
He gets his Commission and instructions well ratified and confirm'd before he sets forth. Otherwise it is the worst prison to be commission-bound. And seeing he must not jet out the least penthouse beyond his foundation, he had best well survey the extent of his authority.	6
He furnisheth himself with fit Officers in his family. Especially he is carefull in choosing 1 A Secretary, honest and able, carefull to conceal counfels, and not such a one as will let drop out of his mouth, whatsoever is poured in at his eare: Yea the head of every Embassadour sleeps on the breast of his Secretarie.	7
2 A Steward, wise and provident, such as can temper magnificence with moderation, judiciously fashioning his	

308 The Holy State. Book IV. his ordinary expences with his Masters estate, reserving a spare for all events and accidentall occasions, and making all things to passe with decency, without any rudenesse, noise, or disorder. He seasonably presents his Embassage, and demands audience. 8 Such is the fresh nature of some Embassages, if not spent presently, they sent ill. Thus it is ridiculous to condole griefs almost forgotten, for (besides that with a cruell courtesse it makes their sorrows bleed afresh) it foolishly feems to teach one to take that, which he hath formerly digested. When some Trojane Embassadours came to comfort Tiberius Cesar sor the losse of his sonne, dead well nigh a twelvemoneth before; And I (faid the Emperour) Suctonius in Tiberio. am very forry for your grief for the death of your Hector, flain by Achilles a thousand years since. Coming to have audience, he applyeth himself onely to the Prince to Whom he is fent. When Chancellour Morvill, Embassadour from the French King, delivering his meffage to Philip Duke of Burgundy was interrupted by Charles the Dukes * fonne, I am fent (faid he) not to treat with you, but with your " Comin. lib. father. And our Mr Wade is highly commended, that being fent by Queen Elizabeth to Philip King of Spain, he would not be turned * over to the Spanish Privy Counsel (whose * Cambd.Eli-3ab. in Anno greatest Grandees were dwarfs in honour to his Queen) 1584. pag. 380. but would either have audience from the King himself, or would return without it. And yet afterwards our Embassadour knows (if desirous that his businesse should take effect) how, and when to make his secret and underhand addresses to such potent Favourites, as strike the stroke in State; it often hapning in Common-wealths, that the Masters mate steers the ship thereof, more then the Master himself. In delivering his message, he complies with the garb and guise of the 10 countrey; either longer, briefer, more plain, or more flourishing, as it is most acceptable to such, to whom he directs his speech. The Italians (whose countrey is called the countrey of good words) love the circuits of courtesie, that an Embassadour

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Embassadour should not, as a sparrow-hawk, flie outright to his prey, and meddle presently with the matter in hand; but with the noble falcon mount in language, foar high, fetch compasses of complement, and then in due time stoop to game, and leile on the bulinelle propounded. Clean contrary the Switzers (who fent word to the King of France, not to fend them an Embaliadour with store of words, but a Treasurer with plenty of money) count all words quite out, which are not straight on, have an antipathy against eloquent language; the flowers of Rhetorick being as offensive to them, as sweet perfumes to such as are troubled with the Mother. Yea generally great souldiers have their stomachs sharp set to feed on the matter, lothing long speeches, as wherein they conceive themselves to lose time, in which they could conquer half a countrey; and, counting bluntnesse their best eloquence, love to be accosted in their own kind.

He commands himself not to admire any thing presented unto him. He looks, but not gazeth, on forrein magnificence (as countrey clowns on a city) beholding them with a samiliar eye, as challenging old acquaintance, having known them long before. If he be surprised with a sudden wonder, he so orders it, that though his soul within feels an admiration, none can perceive it without in his countenance. For,

It is inconsistent with the steddinesse of his gravitie, to be startled with a wonder.

2 Admiration is the daughter of ignorance: whereas he ought to be so read in the world, as to be posed with no raritie.

or Wealth) that herein his own Masters kingdome is farre surpassed. And yet he will not slight and neglect such worthy sights as he beholds, which would savour too much of sullennesse, and self-addiction, things ill beseeming his noble spirit.

He is zealous of the least puntillo's of his Masters bonour. Herein

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tis most true, the Law of honour servanda in apicibus: Yea, a toy may be reall, and a point may be essentiall to the sense of some sentences, and worse to be spared then some whole letter. Great Kings wrestle together by the strength, and nimblenesse of their Embassadours; wherefore Embassadours are carefull to afford no advantage to the adverse party: and mutually no more hold is given, then what is gotten, lest the fault of the Embassadour be drawn into president, to the prejudice of his Master. He that abroad will lose an hair of his Kings honour, deserves to lose his own head when he comes home.

16

He appears not violent in desiring any thing he would effect; but with a seeming carelesnesse most carefully advanceth his Masters businesse. If employed to conclude a Peace, he represents his Master as indifferent therein for his own part, but that desiring to spare Christian bloud, preponderates him for Peace, whose conscience, not purse or arms are weary of the warre: He entreats not, but treats for an accord, for their mutuall good. But if the Embassadour declareth himself zealous for it, perchance he may be forced to buy those conditions, which otherwise would be given him.

14

He is constantly and certainly inform'd of all passages in his own Countrey. What a shame is it for him to be a stranger to his native affairs? Besides, if gulls and rumours from his Countrey be raised on purpose to amuse our Embassadour, he rather smiles then starts at these fasse vizards, who by private instructions from home, knows the true face of his Countrey-estate. And lest his Masters Secretary should fail him herein, he counts it thrist to cast away some pounds yearly, to some private friend in the Court, to send him true information of all home-remarkables.

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He carefully returns good intelligence to his Master that employeth him.

- 1 Speedy: Not being fuch a fluggard as to write for news at noon, That the Sunne is rilen.
- 2 True; so farre forth as may be: else he stamps it with a mark of uncertainty or suspicion.

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- 3 Full: not filling the paper, but informing those to whom it is written.
- Materiall: not grinding his advises too small, to frivolous particulars of love-toyes, and private brawls, as one layeth it to the charge of Francis Guicciardines Historie, Minutissima quaque narrat, parum ex lege aut dignitate Historia. And yet such particulars, which are too mean to be served up to the Counsel-Table, may make a feast for Ladies, or other his friends; and therefore to such our Embassadour relates them by his private letters.

5 Methodicall: not running on all in a continued strain, but stopping at the stages of different businesses to breath himself and the Reader, and to take and begin a new sentence.

6 Well-penned, clear and plain, not hunting after language, but teaching words their distance to wait on his matter, intermingling sententious speeches sparingly, lest seeming affected. And if constrained twice to write the same matter, still he varieth his words, lest he may seem to write like Notaries by presidents.

He will not have his house serve as a retreating-place for people suspected and odious, in that State wherein he is employed. Much lesse shall his house be a Sanctuary for Offenders, seeing the very horns of Gods Altar did push away from them such notorious Malesactours as did slie unto them for protection.

He is cautious not to practice any treacherous act against the Prince under whom he lives: lest the Shield of his Embassy prove too small to desend him from the Sword of Justice, seeing that for such an offense an Embassadour is resolved into a private man, and may worthily be punished, as in the cases of Bernardinus Mendoza, and the Bishop of * Rosse. Yea he will not so much as break forth publickly into any discourse, which he knows will be distastfull in that Countrey wherein he is employed. Learned Bodin, who some seventy years since waited on Monsieur into England, was here,

* Lipsius in the end of his Politicks, in his censure of Historians.

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* See his cafe largely discusf d in Cambd. Elizab. by the best Civilians, Anno.

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* Francisc.

Hostoman in
his Treatise
of an Embass.
fol. 42.

though highly admired for his learning, condemned much for his indiscretion, if his *corrivals pen may be credited. For being feasted at an English Lords table, he fell into the odious discourse, That a Princesse, meaning Mary Queen of Scots, was after Queen Elizabeth the presumptive Inheritrix of the English Ctown, notwithstanding an English Law seemed to exclude those which are born out of the land; And yet, said he, I know not where this Law is, for all the diligence that I have used to find it out: To whom it was suddenly replyed by the Lord that entertain'd him, You shall find it written on the backside of your Salick Law: a judicious and biting rebound.

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*Idem.fol.23,

19

* 2.Cor. 5.20.

He is carefull of suspicious complying with that Prince to whom he is sent: as to receive from him any extraordinary gists, much lesse pensions, which carry with them more then an appearance of evil. Sr * Amias Paulet was so scrupulous herein, that being Embassadour in France in the dayes of Queen Elizabeth, he would not at his departure receive from the French King the chain of gold (which is given of course) till he was half a league out of the city of Paris.

If he hath any libera maridata, unlimited instructions, herein his discretion is most admirable.

But what go I about to do? hereof enough already, if not too much: it better complying with my profession to practice S. Pauls precept to mine own parishioners, *Now then we are Embassadours for Christ, as though God did befeech you by us, we pray you in Christs stead, be reconciled to God.

CHAP. 17.

The good Generall.

The Souldier, whom we formerly described, hath since by the stairs of his own deserts climb'd up to be a Generall, and now we come to character him.

He is plous in the ordering of his own life. Some fallely con-

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Maxime 1

1 By giving them good words in his speeches unto them.

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He is fortunate in what he undertakes. Such a one was Julius

Cesar, who in * Britain, a countrey undiscovered, peopled

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with a valiant Nation, began a warre in Autumne, without apparent advantage, not having any intelligence there, being topasse over the sea into a colder climate (an enterprise, saith *one, well worthy the invincible courage of Cesar, but not of his accustomed prudence), and yet returned victorious. Indeed God is the sole disposer of successe: Other gifts he also scattereth amongst men, yet so that they themselves scramble to gather them up; whereas successe, God gives immediately into their hands, on whom he pleaseth to bestow it.

*The Duke of Rohan in the complete Captain, pag. 19.

He tryeth the forces of a new enemie before he encounters him. Sampson is half conquered, when it is known where his strength lies; and skirmishes are scouts for the discovery of the strength of an army, before battel be given.

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He makes his flying enemie a bridge of gold, and disarms them of their best weapon, which is, necessity to fight whether they will or no. Men forced to a battel against their intention, ten conquer beyond their expectation: stop a slying coward, and he will turn his legs into arms, and lay about him manfully; whereas open him a passage to escape, and he will quickly shut up his courage.

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But I dare dwell no longer on this subject. When the Pope earnestly wrote to King Richard the first, not to detain in prison his dear some, the Martiall Bishop of Beavois, the King sent the Pope back the armour wherein the Bishop was taken, with the words of Jacobs sonnes to their Father, See whether or no this be the coat of thy some. Surely a cortlet is no canonical coat for me, not suits it with my Clergy-prosession to proceed any further in this warlike description; onely we come to give an example thereof.

Снар. 18

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CHAP. 18.

The life of Gustavus Adolphus.

King of Sweden.

Oustavus Adolphus King of Sweden, born Anno Domini 1594 had princely education both for Arts and Armes. In Italie he learnt the Mathematicks, and in other places abroad, the French, Italian, and Germane tongues, and after he was King, he travelled under the name of Mr *G. A.R.S. being the foure initial letters of his name, and title.

A dolph. Rex-Succorum, Dr. Wats in charact. ad finem 3. part.p. 183.

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He was but seventeen years old at his Fathers death, being lest not onely a young King, but also in a young kingdome; for his title to the Crown of Sweden, was but five years old, to wit fince the beginning of his Fathers reigne. All his bordering Princes (on the North nothing but the North bounded on him) were his enemies; the Duke-Emperour of Muscovy on the East, the King of Denmark on the West, and of Poland on the South: The former two laid claim to parcels, the latter, to all his kingdome. Yet was he too great for them in his minority, both defending his own, and gaining on them. Woe be to the kingdome whose King is a child, yet blessed is that kingdome whose King, though a child in age, is a man in worth.

These his first actions had much of glory, and yet somewhat of possibility and credit in them. But Chronicle and belief must strain hard to make his Germane Conquest probable with posterity; coming in with eleven thousand men, having no certain confederates, but some of his alliance, whom the Emperour had outed of all their estates: And yet in two years and source moneths, he left the Emperour in as bad a case almost, as he found those Princes

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Gods Providence herein is chiefly to be admired, who to open him a free entrance into Germany, diverted the Imperiall and Spanish forces into Italy, there to scramble against the French, for the Dukedome of Mantua. For heaven onely knows how much Protestant slesh the Imperialists had devoured, if that bone had not struck in their teeth.

If we look on second causes, we may ascribe his victories to this Kings piety, wisedome, valour, and other victues. His piety to God was exemplary, being more addicted to prayer then to fight, as if he would rather conquer Heaven then Earth. He was himself exceeding temperate, save onely too much given to anger, but afterwards he would correct himself, and be cholerick with his choler, shewing himself a man in the one, and a Saint in the other.

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He was a strict observer of Martiall discipline, the life of Warre, without which an Army is but a crowd (not to say herd) of people. He would march all day in complete armour, which was by custome no more burthen to him then his armes; and to carry his helmet, no more trouble then his head; whilest his example made the same easie to all his souldiers. He was a strict punisher of misdemeanours and wanton intemperance in his camp: And yet let me relate

this story from one present therein.

When first he entred Germany, he perceived how that many women followed his fouldiers, fome being their wives, and some wanting nothing to make them so but marriage; yet most passing for their landresses, though com. monly defiling more then they walh. The King coming to a great river, after his men and the wagons were passed over, caused the bridge to be broken down, hoping so to be rid of these feminine impediments; but they one a sudden lift up a panick schrick, which pierced the skies, and the soul. diers hearts on the other side of the river, who instantly vowed not to stirre a foot farther, except with baggage, and that the women might be fetch'd over, which was done accordingly. For the King finding this ill humour so generally dispersed in his men, that it was dangerous to purge it all at once, smiled out his anger for the present, and permitted what he could not amend: yet this abule was afteswards reformed by degrees.

He was very mercifull to any that would submit. And as the iron gate miraculously opened to S. Peter of its own accord, so his mercy wrought miracles, making many city-gates open to him of themselves, before he ever knock'd at them to demand entrance; the inhabitants desiring to shroud themselves under his protection. Yea he was mercifull to those places which he took by assault, ever detesting the bloudinesse of Tilly at Magdenburg, under the assess whereof he buried his honour, coming valiant thither, and departing cruell thence. In such cases he was mercifull to women (not like those Generalls, who know the differences

of Sex in their lust, but not in their anger) year the very Jesuites themselves tasted of his courtesie, though merrily he laid to their charge, that they would neither Preach faith to, nor keep faith with others.

He had the true art (almost lost) of Encamping, where he would lie in his Trenches in despight of all enemies, keeping the clock of his own time, and would fight for no mans pleasure but his own. No seeming flight or disorder of his enemies, should cousen him into a battel, nor their daring bravado's anger him into it, nor any violence force him to flight, till he thought fitting himself; counting it good manners in Warre to take all, but give no advantages.

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It was said of his Armies, that they used to rise when the swallows went to bed, when winter began, his forces most consisting of Northern Nations, and a Swede fights best when be can see his own breath. He alwayes kept a long vacation in the dog-dayes, being onely a saver in the summer, and a gainer all the yeare besides. His best harvest was in the snow; and his souldiers had most life in the dead of winter.

He made but a short cut in taking of cities, many of whose fortifications were a wonder to behold; but what were they then to assault and conquer? at scaling of walls he was excellent for contriving, as his souldiers in executing: it seeming a wonder that their bodies should be made of aire, so light to climbe, whose armes were of iron, so heavy to strike. Such cities as would not presently open unto him, he shut them up, and having businesse of more importance, then to imprison himself about one strength, he would consigne the besieging thereof to some other Captain. And indeed he wanted not his Joabs, who when they had reduced cities to terms of yielding, knew (with as much wisdome as loyalty) to entitle their David to the whole honour of the action.

He was highly beloved of his souldiers, of whose deserts he kept a faithfull Chronicle in his heart, and advanced them accordingly. All valiant men were Swedes to him;

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and he differenced men in his esteem, by their merits not

their countrey.

To come to his death, wherein his reputation suffers in the judgements of some, for too much hazarding of his own person in the battel. But surely some conceived necessity thereof urged him thereunto. For this his third grand set battel in Germany, was the third and last asking of his banes to the Imperiall Crown; and had they not been forbidden by his death, his marriage in all probability had instantly followed. Besides, * Never Prince hath sounded great Empire, but my making warre in person; nor hath lost any, but when he made warre by his lieutenants: which made this King the more adventurous.

His death is still lest in uncertainty, whether the valour of open enemies, or treachery of false friends caused it. His side won the day, and yet lost the summe that made it; and as one saith,

Upon this place the great Gustavus dy'd, Whilest victory lay bleeding by his side.

Thus the readiest way to lose a jewel, is to overprise it: for indeed many men so doted on this worthy Prince, and his victories (without any default of his, who gave God the glory) that his death in some sort seemed necessary to vindicate Gods honour, who usually maketh that prop of sless to break, whereon men lay too great weight of their expectation.

After his death, how did men struggle to keep him alive in their reports? partly out of good will, which made them kindle new hopes of his life at every spark of probability; partly out of infidelity that his death could be true. First they thought so valiant a Prince could not live on earth; and when they saw his life, then they thought so valiant a Prince could never die, but that his death was rather a concealment for a time, dayly expecting when the politickly dead should have a Resurrection in some noble exploit.

I find a most * learned pen applying these Latine verses

Duke of Roban, in his complete Captain cap. 22.

*Dr. Hakewill in his Apologie for divine Providence, lib. 4. cap. 11. pag. 546. to this noble Prince, and it is honour enough for us to tranllate them:

In Templo plus quam Sacerdos.

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In Republica plus quam Rex.

In sententia dicenda plus quam Senator.

In Judicio plus quam Jurisconsultus.

In Exercitu plus quam Imperator.

In Acie plus quam Miles.

In adversis perferendis, injurisque condonandis plus quam vir.

In publica libertate tuenda plus quam Civis.

In Amicitia colenda plus quam Amicus.

In convictu plus quam familiaris.

In venatione ferifque domandis plus quam Leo.

In tota reliqua vita plus quam Philosophus.

More then a Priest he in the Church might passe.

More then a Prince in Common-wealth he was.

More then a Counseller in points of State.

More then a Lawyer matters to debate.

More then a Generall to command outright.

More then a Souldier to perform a fight.

More then a man to bear affliction strong.

More then a man good to forgive a wrong.

More then a Patriot countrey to defend.

True friendship to maintain, more then a Friend.

More then familiar sweetly to converse.

And though in sports more then a Lion fierce,

To hunt and kill the game, yet he exprest

More then Philosopher in all the rest.

The Jesuites made him to be the * Antichrist, and allowed him three years and an half of reigne and conquest: But had he lived that full term out, the true Antichrist might have heard surther from him, and Romes Tragedy might have had an end, whose sist and last Act is still behind. Yet one * Jesuite more ingenuous then the rest, gives him this testimony, that, save the badnesse of his cause and religion, he had nothing defective in him which belonged to an excellent King, and a good Captain.

* Defeript.

Bell. Succici,
per Aut. Anonymum, pag.
186.

* Silvefter
Petra Sanda
in bis book
against Du
Moulin.

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Thus let this our poore description of this King, serve like a flat gravestone or plain pavement for the present, till the richer pen of some Grotius or Heinsius, shall provide to erect some statelyer Monument on his Memory.

CHAP. 19.

The Prince or Heir apparent to the Crown.

E is the best pawn of the suture selicity of a kingdome. His Fathers Subjects conceive they take a surther estate

of happinesse in the hopes of his Succession.

Maxime I

In his infancy he gives presages of his future worth. first-fruits are dispatch'd before, to bring news to the world of the harvest of virtues which are ripening in him: hs own Royall spirit prompts him to some speeches and actions, wherein the standers by will scarce believe their own eares and eyes, that such things can proceed from him: And yet no wonder if they have light the soonest, who live nearest the East, seeing Princes have the advantage of the best birth and breeding. The Gregorian account goes ten dayes before the computation of the English calendar: but the capacity of Princes, goes as many years before private mens of the same age.

Antevenit sortem meritis, virtutibus, annos. His worth above his wealth appears, And virtues go beyond his years.

He is neither kept too long from the knowledge, nor brought too foon to the acquaintance with his own Greatnesse. To be kept too long in distance from himself, would breed in him a soul too narrow for his place: On the other side, he need not to be taught his Greatnesse too soon, who will meet with it every where. The best of all is, when his Governours open him to himself by degrees, that his soul may spread according to his age.

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kind of carelesnesse in shew, to make his activities seem the more naturall, and avoids a toyling and laborious industry, especially seeing each drop of a Princes swear is a pearl, and not to be thrown away for no cause. And Princes are not to reach, but to trample on recreations, making them their southool to heighten their souls for seriousnesse, taking them in passage thereunto.

His clothes are such as may be seem his Greatnesse: especially when he solemnly appears, or presents himself to forcein Embassadours. Yet he disdains not to be plain at ordinary times. The late * Henrie, Prince of Wales, being tax'd by some for his too long wearing of a plain sute of Welch frize,

Would (said he) my countrey cloth will last forever.

He begins to study his own countrey, and the people therein: what places are, what may be fortified; which can withstand a long siege, and which onely can make head against a present insurrection. If his land accoss the sea, he considereth what Havens therein are barr'd, whose dangerous chanells sence themselves, and their rocks are their blockhouses; what Keys are rusty with sands and shelves, and what are scoured with a free and open tide, with what serviceable ships belong thereunto. He takes notice also of the men in the land, and disdains his soul should be blurred with unjust prejudices, but fairly therein writes every one in order, as they are ranked by their own deserts.

Hence he looks abroad to see how his countrey stands in relation to forrein Kingdomes; how it is friended with Confederates, how opposed with Enemies. His little eyes can cast a source glance on the suspicious greatnesse of any near borderer; for he conceives others weakned by their own distance. He considers forrein Kingdomes, and States, whether they stand on their own strength, or lean on the favour of friends, or onely hang by a Politicall Geometry, equally poysing themselves betwixt their neighbours, like Lucca and Geneva; the multitude of enemies mouthes keeping them from being swallowed up. He quickly perceives that Kings, how nearly soever allied, are most of kinne

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* Sr. Fr. Netherfol. in the fun. orat. of him, pag. 16.

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kinne to their own interest; and though the same Religion be the best bond of forrein affection, yet even this breaks too often: and States when wounded, will cure themselves with a plaister made of the heart-blood of their best friends.

He tunes his soul in comfort to the disposition of his King-father. Whatsoever his desire be, the least word, countenance, or signe given of his fathers disallowance, makes him instantly desist from further pursuit thereof with satisfaction, in regard he understands it disagreeing to his Majesties pleasure, and with a resolution not to have the least semblance of being discontented: He hath read how such Princes which were undutifull to their Parents, either had no children, or children worse then none, which repaid their disobedience. He is also kind to his Brothers, and Sisters, whose love and affection he counteth the bulwarks and redouts, for his own safety and security.

When grown to keep a Court by himself, he is carefull in well ordering it. The foresaid Prince Henries Court, consisted of sew lesse then five hundred persons, and yet his grave and Princely aspect gave temper to them all, so that in so numerous a familie, not so much as any *blows were given.

With a frowning countenance he brusheth off from his soul all Court-mothes of flattery: especially he is deaf to such as would advise him, without any, or any just grounds, when he comes to the Crown, to runne counter to the practice of his Father; and who knowing that muddy water makes the strongest beere, may conceive the troubling and embroyling of the State, will be most advantagions for their active spirits. Indeed seldome two successive Kings tread in the same path: if the former be Martiall, though the warre be just, honourable, and prositable; yet some will quarrell with the time present, not because it is bad, but because it is, and put a Prince forward to an alteration. If the former King were peaceable, yet happinesse it self is unhappy

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II .

* Sr. William Cornwallis in the life of Prince Henry.

12

'Aci to nacov:

in being too common, and many will desire warre (concerted sweet to every palate which never tasted it) and urge a Prince thereunto. But our Prince knows to estimate things by their true worth and value, and will not take them upon the credit, whereon others present them unto him.

13

He conceives they will be most loving to the branch, which were most loyall to the root, and most honour'd his father. We reade how Henrie the fifth (as yet Prince of Wales) intending to bear out one of his servants for a misdemeanour, reviled St William Gascoine, Lord chief Justice of the Kings Bench, to his face in open Court. The aged Judge confidered how this his action would beget an immortall example, and the eccho of his words (if unpunished) would be resounded for ever to the disgrace of Majestie, which is never more on its throne, then when either in person, or in his substitutes, sitting on the bench of Justice; and thereupon commanded the Prince to the prison, till he had given satisfaction to his father for the affront offered. Instantly down fell the heart of great Prince Henrie, which (though as hardas rock) the breath of Justice did easily shake, being first undermin'd with an apprehension of his own guiltinesse: And King Henrie the fourth his father is reported greatly to rejoyce, that he had a Judge who knew how to command by, and a Sonne who knew how to submit to his Laws. And afterward this Prince when King (first conquering himself, and afterwards the French) reduced his Court from being a forrest of wild trees, to be an orchard of sweet fruit, banishing away his bad companions, and appointing and countenancing those to keep the key of his honour, who had lock'd up his fathers most faithfully.

He shews himself to the people on fit occasions. It is hard to say whether he sees or is seen with more love and delight. Every one that brings an eye to gaze on him, brings also an heart to pray for him. But his subjects

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in reversion, most rejoyce to see him in his military exercises, wishing him as much skill to know them, as little need to use them, seeing peace is as farre to be preferred before victory it self, as the end is better then the means.

He values his future soveraignty, not by impunity in doing evil: but by power to do good. What now his desire is, then his abilitie shall be; and he more joyes, that he is a member of the true Church, then the second in the land. Onely he fears to have a Crown too quickly, and therefore lengthens out his fathers dayes with his prayers for him, and obedience to him. And thus we leave Solomon to delight in David, David in Solomon, their people in both.

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CHAP. 20.



CHAP. 20.

The life of Edward the Black Prince.

* For King Edward his father called bim his Fair Sonne, Speed pag. 579. E Dward the Black Prince (so called from his dreaded acts, and not from his *complexion) was the eldest sonne to Edward the third by Philippa his Queen. He was born Anno 1329, on the fifteenth of June, being friday, at Woodstock in Oxfordshire. His Parents perceiving in him more then ordinary naturall perfections, were carefull to bestow on him such education in Piety, and Learning, agreeable to his high birth. The Prince met their care with

his

his towardlinesse, being apt to take fire, and blaze at the least

spark of instruction put into him.

We find him to be the first Prince of Wales, whose *Charter at this day is extant, with the particular rites of investiture, which were the Crowner, and Ring of Gold, with rod of filver, worthily bestowed upon him, who may passe for a mirrour of Princes, whether we behold him in Peace or in Warre. He in the whole course of his life, manifested a fingular observance to his Parents, to comply with their will and defire; nor lesse was the tendernesse of his affection to his Brothers and Sifters, whereof he had many.

But as for the Martiall performances of this Prince, they are so many and so great, that they would fill whole volumes: we will onely infift on three of his most memorable atchievements, remitting the Reader for the rest to our English Historians. The first shall be his behaviour in the battel of * Creffy, against the French, wherein Prince Edward, not fully eighteen years old, led the forefront of the swentieth year

English.

There was a caussesse report (the beginning of a rumour is sometimes all the ground thereof) spread through the French army, that the English were fled: whereupon the French posted after them, not so much to overcome (this they counted done,) but to overtake them, preparing themselves rather to pursue, then to fight. But comming to the town of Creffy, they found the English fortified in a wooddy place, and attending in good array to give battel. Whereat the French falling from their hopes, were extreamly vext, (a fools paradife is a wisemans hell) finding their enemies faces to stand where they look'd for their backs. And now both armies prepared to fight; whilest behold flocks of ravens and vultures in the aire flew thither; bold guests to come without an invitation. But these smell-feast birds, when they faw the cloth laid (the tents of two armies pitch'd) knew there would be good cheere, and came to feed on their carcales.

The English divided themselves into three parts: The Ee 4

* See the copy thereof in Mr. Seldens titles of Honour, Pag. 595.

4 1346 in the of Edward the third.

formost consisting most of Archers, led by the Black Prince, the second, by the Earl of Northampton; the third, commanded by King Edward in person. The French were treble in number to the English, and had in their army the three Kings, of France, Bohemia, and Majorca: Charles Duke of Alenson, with John the Bohemian King, led the vanguard, the French King Philip, the main battel; whilest Amie Duke

of Savoy brought up the rere.

The Genoan Archers in the French forefront, wearied with marching, were accused for their slothfulnesse, and could neither get their wages, nor good words, which made many of them cast down their bows, and resuse to fight, the rest had their bowsstrings made uselesse, being wetted with a sudden showr which fell on their side: But Heavens smiling offended more then her weeping, the sunne suddenly shining out in the sace of the French, gave them so much light they could not see.

However Duke Charles, breaking through the Genoans, furiously charged the fronts of the English, and joyned at hand-strokes with the Princes battel, who though fighting most couragiously was in great danger: Therefore King Edward was sent unto (who hitherto hovered on an hillock, judiciously beholding the fight) to come and rescue his sonne. The King apprehending his case dangerous, but not desperate, and him rather in need then extremity, told the messenger, Is my sonne alive? let him dy or conquer, that he may

The English were vext, not at his deniall, but their own request; that they should seem to suspect their Kings fatherly affection, or Martiall skill, as needing a remembrancer to tell him his time. To make amends, they laid about them manfully, the rather because they knew that the King looked on, to testific their valour, who also had the best cards in his own hand, though he kept them for a

revie.

The Victory began to incline to the English, when, 12ther to settle then get the conquest, the King (hitherto 2 spectatour) spectatour) came in to act an Epilogue. Many English with short knifes for the nonce, stabb'd the bellies of their enemies, cut the throats of more, letting out their souls wheresoever they could come at their bodies: and to all such as lay languishing, they gave a short acquittance, that they had paid their debt to nature. This makes French Writers complain of the English cruelty, and that it had been more honour to the Generall, and profit to the souldiers, to have drawn lesse bloud, and more money, in ransoming captives, especially seeing many French Noblemen, who sought like lions, were kill'd like calves. Others plead, that in Warre all wayes and weapons are lawfull, where it is the greatest mistake not to take all advantages.

Night came on, and the King commanded no pursuit should be made for preventing of consusion; for souldiers scarce follow any order, when they follow their flying enemy; and it was so late, that it might have proved too soon

to make a pursuit.

The night proved exceeding dark (as mourning for the bloud shed) nor was the next morning comforted with the rising of the sun, but remained sad and gloomy, so that in the mist many French men lost their way, and then their lives, falling into the hands of the English: so that next dayes gleanings for the number, though not for the quality of persons slain, exceeded the harvest of the day before. And thus this victory, next to Gods Providence, was justly ascribed to the Black Princes valour, who there wonne and wore away the Estridge feathers, then the Arms of John King of Bohemia, there conquer'd and kill'd, and therefore since made the *hereditary Emblemes of honour to the Princes of Wales.

The battel of Poictiers followed ten years after, which was fought betwixt the foresaid Black Prince, and John King of *France. Before the battel began, the English were reduced to great straits, their enemies being six to one. The French conceived the victory, though not in hand, yet within reach, and their arm must be put out, not to get but take

* Vid.Cambd. Remains pag. 344.

* September 19. 1356.

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it. All articles with the English they accounted alms, it being great charity, but no policy to compound with them. But what shall we say? Warre is a game wherein very often that side loseth which layeth the oddes. In probability they might have famished the English without fighting with them, had not they counted it a lean conquest so to bring their enemies to misery, without any honour to themselves.

The conclusion was, that the French would have the English lose their honour to save their lives, tendring them unworthy conditions, which being refused, the battel was begun. The French King made choice of three hundred prime horsmen to make the first assault on the English; the election of which threehundred made more then a thousand * heartburnings in his army: every one counted his loyalty or manhood suspected, who was not chosen into this number; and this took off the edge of their spirits against their enemies, and turned it into envy and disdain

against their friends.

The French horse charged them very furiously, whom the English entertain'd with a feast of arrows, first, second, third course, all alike. Their horses were galled with the bearded piles, being unused to feel spurres in their breasts and buttocks. The best horses were worst wounded, for their mettall made one wound many; and that arrow which at first did but pierce, by their struggling did tear and rend. Then would they know no riders, and the riders could know no ranks; and in such a confusion, an army fights against it self. One rank fell foul with another, and the rere was ready to meet with the front: and the valiant Lord Audley, charging them before they could repair themselves, overcame all the Horse, Quâ parte belli (saith my Authour) invicti Galli habebantur. The Horse being put to flight, the Infantry confisting most of poore people (whereof many came into the field with conquered hearts, grinded with oppression of their Gentry) counted it neither wit nor manners for them to stay, when their betters did flie, and

* Paulus Æmil. in the life of King John, pag. 286. made post-hast after them. Six thousand common souldiers were slain, fifty two Lords, and seventeen hundred Knights and Esquires; one hundred Ensignes taken, with John the French King, and two thousand prisoners of note.

The French had a great advantage of an after game, if they had returned again, and made head, but they had more mind to make heels, and run away. Prince Edward, whose prowesse herein was conspicuous, overcame his own valour, both in his piety, devoutly giving to God the whole glory of the conquest, and in his courtesse, with stately humility entertaining the French Prisoner-King, whom he bountifully seasted that night, though the other could not be merry, albeit he was supped with great cheere, and knew

himself to be very welcome.

The third performance of this valiant Prince, wherein we will instance, was acted in Spain, on this occasion. Peter King of Castile was driven out of his kingdome by Henry his base Brother, and the assistance of some French forces. Prince Edward on this Peters petition, and by his own Fathers permission, went with an army into Spain, to re-estate him in his kingdome: For though this Peter was a notorious Tyrant, (if Authours in painting his deeds do not overshadow them, to make them blacker then they were) yet our Prince, not looking into his vices but his right, thought he was bound to assist him: For all Sovereignes are like the strings of a Basevioll equally tuned to the same height, so that by sympathy, he that toucheth the one moves the other. Besides, he thought it just enough to restore him, because the French helpt to cast him out; and though Spain was farre off, yet our Prince never counted himself out of his own countrey, whilest in any part of the world; valour naturalizing a brave spirit through the Universe.

With much adoe he effected the businesse through many difficulties, occasioned partly by the treachery of King Peter, who performed none of the conditions promised, and partly through

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through the barrennesse of the countrey, so that the Prince was forced to fell all his own plate, (Spain more needing meat then dishes) to make provision for his souldiers; but especially through the distemper of the climate, the aire (or fire shall I say) thereof being extreme hot, so that it is conceived to have caused this Princes death, which happened soon after his return. What English heart can hold from inveighing against Spanish aire, which deprived us of such a jewel? were it not that it may feem fince to have made us fome amends, when lately the breath of our nostrills breathed in that climate, and yet by Gods providence was kept there,

and returned thence in health and safety.

Well may this Prince be taken for a Paragon of his age, and place, having the fewest vices, with so many virtues. Indeed he was somewhat given to women, our Chronicles fathering two base children on him; so hard it is to find a Sampson without a Dalila. And seeing never King or Kings eldest sonne, since the conquest before his time married a subject, I must confesse his Match was much beneath himfelf, taking the double reversion of a subjects bed, marrying Joan Countesse of Salisbury, which had been twice a widow. But her surpassing beauty pleads for him herein, and yet her beauty was the meanest thing about her, being surpassed by her virtues. And what a worthy woman must The needs be her felf, whose very garter hath given so much honour to Kings and Princes?

He dyed at Canterbury, June the eighth 1376 in the fourty fixth yeare of his age: it being wittily * observed of the short lives of many worthy men, fatuos à morte defendit ipsa infulfitas; si cui plus cæteris aliquantulum salis insit (quod miremi-

ni) statim putrescit.

CHAP. 21.

The King.

Eis a mortall God. This world at the first had no other Charter for its being, then Gods Fiat: Kings have

* Sr. Francis Netherfole in his fun. orat. on Prince Henry,pag. 26. the same in the Present tense, I have said ye are Gods. We will describe him, first as a good man (so was Henry the third) then as a good King (so was Richard the third) both which meeting together make a King complete. For he that is not a good man, or but a good man, can never be a good Sovereigne.

He is temperate in the ordering of his own life. O the Mandate of a Kings example is able to do much! especially he is.

1 Temperate in his diet. When Æschines commended Philip King of Macedon, for a joviall man that would drink freely, * Demosthenes answered, that this was a good quality in a spunge, but not in a King.

2 Continent in his pleasures. Yea Princes lawfull children are farre easier provided for then the rabida fames of a spurious ofspring can be satisfied, whilest their Paramors and Concubines (counting it their best manners to carve for themselves all they can come by) prove intolerably expensive to a State. Besides, many rebellions have risen out of the marriage bed defiled.

He holds his Crown immediately from the God of Heaven. * The most high ruleth in the kingdomes of men, and giveth them to whomsoever he will. Cujus jussu nascuntur homines, ejus jussu constituuntur Principes, saith a * Father: Inde illis potestas unde spiritus, faith * another. And who foever shall remount to the first originall of Kings, shall lose his eyes in discovering the top thereof, as past ken, and touching the heavens. We reade of a place in Mount Olivet (wherein the last footsteps, they lay, of our Saviour before he ascended into heaven are to be seen) that it will ever lie open to the skies, and will not admit of any close or *covering to be made over it how costly soever. Farre more true is this of the condition of absolute Kings, who in this respect are ever sub dio, so that no superiour power can be interposed betwixt them and heaven. Yea the Character of loyalty to Kings so deeply impress'd in Subjects hearts shews that onely Gods finger wrote it there. Hence it is if one chance to conceive ill of his Sovereigne, though within the cabinet of his foul, prefently Ff his

Maxime 1

* Plutarch in the life of Dcmosshenes.

* Dan 4. 17.

* Irenæus l.5.
* Tertull. Apol. pag. 6.5,

*Nullo modo contegi aut concamerari potest, sed-transitus ejus à terra ad cœ-lum usque patet apertum, Adricom. de terra Sanēta ex Hieron. & aliis Autoribus.

his own heart grows jealous of his own heart, and he could wish the tongue cut out of his tell-tale thoughts, lest they should accuse themselves. And though sometimes Rebels (Atheists against the God on earth) may labour to obliterate loyaltie in them, yet even then their conscience, the Kings Aturney, frames Articles against them, and they stand in daily fear lest Darius Longimanus (such a one is every King) should reach them, and revenge himself.

He claimeth to be supreme Head on earth over the Church, in his Dominions. Which his power over all persons and causes Ec-

clesiasticall

I Is given him by God, who alone hath the originall propriety thereof.

2 Is derived unto him by a prescription, time out of mind in the Law of Nature, declared more especially in the Word of God.

Statutes of that State wherein he lives. For fince the Pope (starting up from being the Emperours Chaplain to be his Patron) hath invaded the rights of many earthly Princes, many wholsome Laws have been made in severall Kingdomes to assert and notifie their Kings just power in Spiritualibus.

Well therefore may our King look with a frowning face on such, whose tails meet in this sirebrand (which way soever the prospect of their faces be), to deny Princes power in Church-matters. Two* Jesuites give this farre-fetch'd reason, why * Samuel at the Feast caused the shoulder of the Sacrifice to be reserved and kept on purpose for Saul to feed on; because, say they, Kings of all men have most need of strong shoulders, patiently to endure those many troubles and molestations they shall meet with, especially, I may well adde, if all their Subjects were as troublesome and disloyall as the Jesuites. The best is, as God hath given Kings shoulders to bear, he hath also given them armes to strike, such as deprive them of their lawfull Authority in Ecclesiasticall affairs.

* Zanchez & Velasquez in their Comments on the Text. 1. Sam. 9. 14.

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He improves his power to defend true Religion. Sacerdotal Offices, though he will not do, he will cause them to be done. He will not offer to burn incense with Uzziah, yet he will burn Idolaters bones with Josiah: I mean, advance Piety by punishing Profanenesse. God * faith to his Church, Kings shall be thy Nurfing-fathers, and their Queens thy Nurfing-mothers. And oh! Let not Princes out of State refuse to be so themselves, and onely hire others, it belonging to Subjects to suck, but to Princes to suckle Religion by their authority. They ought to command Gods Word to be read and practifed, wherein the bleffed Memory of King James shall never be forgotten. His Predecessour in England restored the Scripture to her Subjects; but he in a manner, restored the Scripture to it self, in causing the New Translation thereof, whereby the meanest that can reade English, in effect understands the Greek and Hebrew. A Princely act, which shall last even when the lease of Time shall be expired: Verily I say unto you, Wherefoever this Translation shall be read in the whole realm, there shall also this that this King hath done, be told in memorial of him.

He useth Mercy and Justice in his proceedings against Offenders. Solomon * saith, The throne is established by Justice: and Solomon * saith, The throne is upholden by Mercy. Which two Proverbs speak no more contradiction, then he that saith that the two opposite side-walls of an house, hold up the same roof. Yea, as some Astronomers (though erroneously) conceived the Crystalline Sphere to be made of water, and therefore to be set next the Primum mobile, to allay the heat thereof, which otherwise by the swistnesse of his motion would set all the world on fire; so Mercy must ever be set near Justice, for the cooling and tempering thereof. In his mercy, our King desires to resemble the God of heaven, who measureth his judgements by the ordinary cubit; but his kindnesses by the cubit of the Sanctuary, twice as big; yea, all the world had been a hell without Gods mercy.

He is rich in having a plentifull exchequer of his peoples hearts.

Allow me, said Archimedes, to stand in the aire, and I will move

* Isaiah 49.

* Prov. 16.
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* Prov. 20.

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the earth. But our King having a firm footing in his Subjects affections, what may he do, yea what may he not do? making the coward valiant, the mifer liberall; for love, the key of hearts, will open the closest coffers. Mean time how poore is that Prince amidst all his wealth, whose Subjects are onely kept by a slavish fear, the jaylour of the soul. An iron arm fastned with scrues may be stronger, but never so usefull, because not so naturall, as an arm of slesh, joyned with muscles and sinews. Loving Subjects are most serviceable, as being more kindly united to their Sovereigne then those which are onely knock'd on with fear and forcing. Besides, where Subjects are envassaled with fear, Prince and People mutually watch their own advantages, which being once offered them, 'tis wonderfull if they do not, and wofull if they do, make use thereof.

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He willingly orders his actions by the Laws of his realm. Indeed some maintain that Princes are too high to come under the roof of any Laws, except they voluntarily of their goodnesse be pleased to bow themselves thereunto, and that it is Corban, a gift and courtefie, in them to submit themselves to their Laws. But what soever the Theories of absolute Monarchy be, our King loves to be legall in all his practices, and thinks that his power is more fately lock'd up for him in his Laws, then kept in his own will; because God alone makes things lawfull by willing them, whilest the most calmelt Princes have sometimes gusts of Passion, which meeting with an unlimited Authority in them, may prove dangerous to them & theirs. Yea, our King is so suspicious of an unbounded power in himself, that though the widnesse of his strides could make all the hedge stiles, yet he will not go over, but where he may. He also hearkneth to the advise of good Counsellers, remembring the speech of Antoninus the Emperour, Aequius est ut ego tot taliumque amicorum consilium sequar, quam tot tale/que amici meam unius voluntatem. And yet withall our King is carefull to maintain his just Prerogative, that as it be not outstretched, so it may not be overshortned.

Such a gratious Sovereigne God hath vouchsafed to this Land.

How pious is he towards his God! attentive in hearing the Word, preaching Religion with his filence, as the Minister doth with his speech! How loving to his Spoule, tender to his Children, faithfull to his servants whilest they are faithfull to their own innocence; otherwise leaving them to Justice under marks of his displeasure. How doth he with David walk in the midst of his house without partiality to any! How just is he in punishing wilfull murder! so that it is as easie to restore the murthered to life, as to keep the murtherer from death. How mercifull is he to such who not out of leigier malice, but sudden passion may chance to shed bloud! to whom his pardon hath allowed lessure to drop out their own fouls in tears, by constant repentance all the dayes of their lives. How many wholsome Laws hath he enacted for the good of his Subjects! How great is his humilitie in so great height! which maketh his own praises painfull for himself to heare, though pleasant for others to report. His Royall virtues are too great to be told, and too great to be conceal'd. All cannot, some must break forth form the full hearts of such as be his thankfull Subjects.

But I must either stay or fall. My sight fails me, dazell'd

with the lustre of Majestie: all I can do is pray.

Give the King thy judgements, O Lord, and thy righteousnesse to the Kings Sonne: smite through the loins of those that rise up against his Majestie, but upon him and his let the Crown flourish: Oh cause his Subjects to meet his Princely care for their good, with a proportionable cheerfulnesse and alacrity in his service, that so thereby the happinesse of Church and State may be continued. Grant this, O Lord, for Christ Jesus his sake our onely Mediatour and Advocate, Amen.

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PROFANE STATE.

BY

THOMAS FULLER, B. D. and Prebendarie of Sarum.

ISA1AH 32. 5.

The vile person shall be no more called liberall, nor the churl said to be bountifull.

EZEK. 44. 23.

And they shall teach my people the difference betwixt the Holy and the Profane.



CAMBRIDGE:

Printed by ROGER DANIEL for John Williams, and are to be fold at the figne of the Crown in St. Pauls
Churchyard. 1648,

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The Profane State

THE FIFTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

The Harlot



one that her self is both merchant and merchandise, which she selleth for profit, and hath pleasure given her into the bargain, and yet remains a great lofer. To describe her is very difficult; it being hard to draw those to the life, who never sit still:

she is so various in her humours, and mutable, 'tis almost impossible to character her in a fixed posture; yea indeed some cunning Harlots are not discernable from honest women. Solomon saith, the wipeth her mouth; and who can distinguish betwixt that which was never foul, and that which

is cleanly wiped.

Her love is a blank, wherein she writeth the next man that tendreth his affection. Impudently the Harlot lied (Prov. 7. 15.) Therefore came I forth to meet thee, diligently to feek thy face, and I bave found thee: else understand her that she came forth to meet him, not quatalis, but qua primus, because he came first; for any other youngster in his place would have serv'd her turn : yet see how she makes his chance her courtesie, she affecting him as much above others, as the common road loves the next passenger best.

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As she sees, so her self is seen by her own eyes. Sometimes she stares on men with full fixed eyes; otherwhiles she squints forth glances, and contracts the beams in her burning glasses, to make them the hotter to inflame her objects; sometimes she dejects her eyes in a seeming civility, and many mistake in her a cunning, for a modest look. But as those bullets which graze on the ground do most mischief to an army; so she hurts most with those glances which are shot from a down-cast eye.

She writes characters of wantonnesse with her feet as she walks: And what Potiphars wife said with her tongue, she saith unto the passengers with her gesture and gate, Come lie with me; and nothing angrieth her so much, as when modest men affect a deafnesse and will not heare, or a dulnesse and will not understand, the language of her behaviour. She counts her house a prison, and is never well, till gadding abroad: sure 'tis true of women what is observed of elm, if lying within doores dry, no timber will last sound longer, but if without doores expos'd to weather, no wood sooner rots and corrupts.

Yet Jome Harlots continue a kind of strange coynesse even to the very last: which coynesse differs from modesty, as much as hemlock from parsely. They will deny common favours, because they are too small to be granted: They will part with all or none, refuse to be courteous, and reserve themselves to be dishonest; whereas women truly modest, will willingly go to the bounds of free and harmlesse mirth, but

will not be dragg'd any farther.

She is commonly known by her whorish attire: As crisping and curling, (making her hair as winding and intricate as her heart), painting, wearing naked breasts. The face indeed ought to be bare, and the hast should lie out of the sheath; but where the back and edge of the knife are shown, it to be feared they mean to cut the singers of others. I must confesse some honest women may go thus, but no whit the honester for going thus. The ship may have Castor and Pollux for the badge, and notwithstanding have S. Paul for

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She dieth commonly of a lothsome disease. I mean that disease, unknown to Antiquity, created within some hundreds of years, which took the name from Naples. When hell invented new degrees in sinnes, it was time for heaven to invent new punishments. Yet is this new disease now grown so common and ordinary, as if they meant to put divine Justice to a second task to find out a newer. And now it is high time for our Harlot, being grown lothsome to her self, to runne out of her self by repentance.

Some conceive that when King Henrie the eighth deftroyed the publick Stews in this Land (which till his time ftood on the banks fide on Southwark next the Bear-garden, beafts and beaftly women being very fit neighbours) he rather scattered then quenched the fire of lust in this kingdome, and by turning the flame out of the chimney where it had a vent, more endangered the burning of the Commonwealth. But they are deceived: for whilest the Laws of the Land tolerated open uncleannesse, God might justly have made the whole State do penance for whoredome; whereas now that sinne though committed, yet not permitted, and though (God knows) it be too generall, it is still but personall.





CHAP. 2.

The life of JOAN Queen of Naples.

70an, grandchild to Robert King of Naples by Charles his sonne, succeeded her grandsather in the Kingdome of Naples and Sieily, Anno 1343. a woman of a beautifull body, and rare endowments of nature, had not the heat of her lust source all the rest of her perfections, whose wicked life *and wofull death we now come to relate: And I hope none can justly lay it to my charge, if the foulnesse of her actions tranch till. 5.

Rain through the cleanest language I can wrap them in.

* Taken out of Brovius an. Ecclef. au.

She was first married unto her cosen Andrew, a Prince of royall extraction, and of a sweet and loving disposition. But he being not able to satisfie her wantonnesse, she kept company with lewd persons, at first privately, but afterwards she presented her badnesse visible to every eye, so that none need look through the chinks where the doors were

open.

Now Elizabeth Queen of Hungary, her husband Andrews mother, was much offended at the badnesse of her daughter-in-law, whose deeds were so foul she could not look on them, and so common she could not look besides them; wherefore in a matronly way she fairly advised her to reform her courses. For the lives of Princes are more read then their Laws, and generally more practised: Yea their example passeth as current as their coin, and what they do they seem to command to be done. Cracks in glasse, though past mending, are no great matter; but the least shaw in a diamond is considerable: Yea her personall fault was a nationall injury, which might derive and put the Sceptre into a wrong hand.

These her mild instructions she sharpned with severe threatnings: But no razor will cut a stony heart. Queen Joan imputed it to ages envy, old people perswading youth to leave those pleasures, which have lest themselves. Besides, a Mother-in-laws Sermon seldome takes well with an audience of Daughter-in-laws. Wherefore the old Queen, finding the other past grace (that is, never likely to come to it), resolved no-longer to punish anothers sinne on her self, and vex her own righteous soul, but leaving Naples return'd

into Hungary.

After her departure Queen Joan grew weary of her husband Andrew, complaining of his infufficiency, though those who have caninum appetitum are not competent Judges what is sufficient food: And she caused her husband in the city of Aversa, to be hung upon a beam and strangled in the night time, and then threw out his corps into a garden, where it lay some dayes unburied.

There

There goes a * story that this Andrew on a day coming | Collenusius, into the Queens chamber, and finding her twisting a thick | Neopol. ftring of filk and filver, demanded of her for what purpose The made it: She answered, To hang you in it, which he then little believed, the rather because those who intend such mischief never speak of it before. But such blows in jest-earnest are most dangerous, which one can neither receive in love. nor refuse in anger.

Indeed the fought in vain to colour the bufineffe, and to divert the suspicion of the murther from her self, because all the world saw that she inflicted no punishment on the actours of it which were in her power. And in such a case, when a murther is generally known, the fword of the Magistrate cannot stand neuter, but doth justifie what it doth

not punish.

Besides, his corps was not cold, before she was hot in a new love, and married Lewis Prince of Tarentum, one of the beautifullest men in the world. But it was hard for her to please her love and her lust in the same person. This Prince wasted the state of his body to pay her the conjugall debt, which she extorted beyond all modesty or reason, so un-

quenchable was the wildfire of her wantonnesse.

After his death she (hating widowhood as much as Nature doth vacuum) married James King of Majorca, and commonly styled Prince of Calabria. Some say he dyed of a naturall death: Others, that she beheaded him for lying with another woman (who would fuffer none to be diffionest but her self.) Others, that he was unjustly put to death, and forced to change worlds, that the might change husbands.

Her fourth husband was Otho of Brunswick; who came a Commander out of Germany, with a company of fouldiers, and performed excellent service in Italy. A good souldier he was, and it was not the least part of his valour to adventure on so skittish a beast: But he hoped to feast his hungry fortune on this reversion. By all four husbands she had no children; either because the drought of her wanton-

nesse parched the fruit of her wombe; or else because provident Nature prevented a generation of Monsters from her.

By this time her sinnes were almost hoarse with crying to heaven for revenge. They mistake who think divine Justice sleepeth, when it winks for a while at Offenders. Hitherto she had kept her self in a whole skin by the rents which were in the Church of Rome. For there being a long time a schissme betwixt two Popes, Urban, and Clement, she so poyzed her self between them both, that she escaped unpunished. This is that Queen Joan that gave Avignon in France (yet under a pretence of sale) to Pope Urban, and his Successiours: the stomach of his Holinesse not being so squeamish, but that he would take a good almes from dirty hands. It may make the chastity of Rome suspicious with the world, that she hath had so good fortune to be a gainer by Harlots.

But see now how Charles Prince of Dyrachyum, being next of kin to Prince Andrew that was murdered, comes out of Hungary with an army into Naples, to revenge his uncles bloud. He was received without resistance of any, his very name being a Petard to make all the city-gates sly open where he came. Out issues Otho the Queens husband, with an army of men out of Naples, and most stoutly bids him battel, but is overthrown; yet was he suffered fairly to depart the Kingdome, dismissed with this commendation, That never a more valiant Knight sought in defence of a more viti-

ous Lady.

Queen Joan finding it now in vain to bend her fist, sell to bowing of her knees, and having an excellent command of all her passions, save her lust, sell down flat before Charles the Conquerour, and submitted her self: Hitherto, said she, I have esteemed thee in place of a sonne, but seeing God will have it so, hereafter I shall acknowledge thee for my Lord. Charles knew well that Necessity, her Secretary, endited her speech for her, which came little from her heart; yet, to shew that he had as plentifull an Exchequer of good language, promis'd her fairly for the present: But mercy it self would be asham'd

to pity fo notorious a malefactour, After forte moneths imprisonment, the was carried to the place where her husband was murder'd, and there accordingly hanged and caff out of the window into the garden, whole corps at last was buried in the Numery of So Glare amingroot , point fron, being brought before a Magilfrare they acknow.

ge them leves to be Witches, being them leves rather bewiese'd with for, or deladed with phancy. But the felf-acculing &f force is as little to be endited, as

the leif prailing ofsti W, of Hone without other evi-

DE fore we come to describe her we must premise and prove certain propositions, whose much may otherwise lex is most licerish to sait, and most caulb borduois ad

Formerly there were Witches. Otherwise Gods " Law had of mu fought against a Shadow, Thoughalt not suffer a Witch to not live siyes we reade how King Sapt, who had formerly admissioned Wieches out of all Israel, afterwards drank a White, I dore not list middle bud bad by add to bim

12 There are Wisches for the prefent, though those Night birds flie not fo frequently in flocks, fince the light of the Coffet. Some ancient arts and myferies are faid to be loft but fure the Devill will not wholly let down any of his gainfull trades. There be many Witches at this day in Lapland, who fell windes to Mariners for money? (and must they not needs go whom the devil drives?) though we are not bound to believe the old ftory of Ericus King of Swedeland, who had a cap, and as therefore he turned it, the wind he wished for would blow on the please of that fide.

3 It is very hard to prove a Witch. Infernall contracts are 46.3 cap 14. made without witnesses. She that in presence of others will compact with the devill, deferves to be hang'd for her folly, as well as impiety.

4 Many are unjustly accused for Witches. Sometimes out of ignorance of naturall, and milapplying of supernature rall causes; sometimes out of their neighbours mere

Exed. 1811 in Serig

makee, and the inflicion is increased, if the party accused be notoriously ill-favoured; whereas deforming alone is no more argument to make her a Witch, then handsomnesse what been evidence to prove her an Harlot; sometimes out of their own caussesse entirel sion, being brought before a Magistrate they acknowledge themselves to be Witches, being themselves rather bewitch'd with fear, or deluded with phancy. But the self-accusing of some is as little to be credited, as the self-praising of others, of plone without other evidence.

fex is most licorish to tast, and most cardlesse to lived bad low his baits with Nescia quid habet muliebre nomen semper cum saria cist they light well; they are inferiour to few men in picty is ill, supersour to all in superstition.

White, I dare not say good Witches, I for we be to him that collect will good) heal those that are hurt, and help them to lost goods. But better it is to sap ones pottage like a slog, then to eat it markerly with a spoon of the devills giving. Black witches hurt and do smischief. But in deeds of darknesse there is no difference of colours. The white and the black are both guilty alike in compounding with the devill. And now we come to see by what degrees people arrive at this height of profanenesse.

Maxime I

Fulgentim

At the first she is onely ignorant, and very malicious. She hath usually a bad face, and a worse tongue, given to railing and cursing, as if constantly bred on mount Ebal; yet speaking perchance worse then she means, though meaning worse then she should. And as the harmsesse wapping of a curs decurre, may stirr up a fierce mastisse to the worrying of sheep so on her cursing the devil may take occasion by Gods permission to do mischief, without her knowledge, and perchance against her will.

Some

Some have been made " Witches by endeavouring to defend themfelves against wischeraft : for fearing some suspected Witch should hart themouthey fence themselves with the devils thield against the devils sword put on his whole armoun bed ginning to use spells and charmes to safeguard themselves and practile is required; and they often fall from defending of others. themselves to offending of others, especially the devil not being dinty of his company, where be finds welcome and being invited once he haunts ever after solvier and an white

She begins at first with doing tricks, rather frange then burtfull. yea force of them are pretty and pleafing. But it is dangerous to gather flowers that grow on the banks of the pit of bell, for fear of falling in , yearhey which play with the devils rattles will be brought by degrees to wield his (word, and from making of sport they come to doing of muchiet.

At last the indents down right with the devill. He is to find her some roies for a time, and to have her soul in exchange. At the first (to give the devil his due) he observes the agreement to keep up his credit, else none would trade with him ; though at last he either deceives her with an equivocation, or actiome other small hole this Serpent, winds out himself, and breaks the covenants. And where shall she poore wretch fue the forfeited band? in heaven the neither can nor date appear; on earth she is hang'd if the contract be proved; in hell her adversary is judge, and it is wofull to appeal from the devil to the devil. But for a while let us behold her in her supposed felicity.

She taketh her free progresse from one place to another. Sometimes the Devill doth locally transport her :- but he will not be her constant hackney, to carry such luggage about, but oftentimes to save portage, deludes her brains in her fleep, so that they brag of long journeys, whole heads never travell'd from their bolfters. These with Drake sail about the world. but it is on an ocean of their own phancies, and in a thip of the same: They boast of brave banquets they have been

2 * Multi dum vitare Rudent quæ vitanda non funt, fuga vana fuperfti tionis iupersti-

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at, but they would be very lean should they eat no other meat! Others will persuade, if any list to believe, that by a Witch-bridle they can make a sair of hosses of an acre of besome weed. Oh silly souls ! Oh subtle Satan that deceived them; in an bringe is a contact of the legit of the pains.

ber using a language which God neverthade at the confufion of Tongues, and an interpreter must be fetch'd from hell to expound it. With these, or Scripture abused, the devil is ready at her service. Who would suppose that roaring lion could so finely act the spaniel? one would think he were too old to suck, and yet he will do that also so fadvantage.

Sometimes she enjoyes him to do more for her then he is able; as to wound those whom Gods providence doth arm, or to break through the tents of blessed Angels, to hurt one of Gods Saints. Here Satan is put to his shifts, and his wit must help him, where his power fails; he either excuseth it, or seemingly personnes it, lengthning his own arm by the dimnesse of her eye, and presenting the seeming bark of that tree which he cannot bring.

whole clothes But this as rate to see one of her profession, as an hangman, in in whole suit. Is the possession of the devils favour here no better? Lord, what is the reversion of it hereafter?

When arraigned for her life; the devilleaves her to the Law to shift for her self. He hath worn out all his shoes in her former service, and will not now go barefoot to help her; and the circle of the halter is found to be too strong for all her Spirits. Yea * Zoroastes himself, the first inventer of Magick, (though he laught at his birth) led a miserable life, and dyed a wofull death in banishment. We will give a double example of a Witch: first of a reall one, out of the Scripture, because it shall be above all exception; and then of one deeply suspected, out of our Chronicles.

CHAP. 4.

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* Plinius lib. 3. cap. 1.

CHAP. 4. The Witch of * Endor.

4 I. Sam. 28.

Her proper name we neither find, nor need curiously enquire: without it she is describ'd enough for our knowledge, too much for her shame.

King Saul had banish'd all Witches and Sorcerers out of Israel; but no besome can sweep so clean, as to leave no crumme of dust behind it: This Witch of Endor still keeps her self safe in the land. God hath his remnant where Saints are cruelly persecuted; Satan also his remnant where offenders are severely prosecuted, and (if there were no more) the whole species of Witches is preserved in this individuum, till more be provided.

It happened now that King Saul, being ready to fight with the Philistines, was in great distresse, because God answered him not concerning the successe of the battel. With the silent, he will be silent: Saul gave no reall answer in his obedience to Gods commands, God will give no vocall answer to Sauls requests.

Mens minds are naturally ambitious to know things to come: Saul is reftlesse to know the issue of the fight. Alas, what needed he to set his teeth on edge with the source of that bad tydings, who soon after was to have his belly full thereof.

He said to his servants, seek me out (no wonder she was such a Jewel to be sought for) one with a familiar spirit: which was accordingly performed, and Saul came to her in a disguise. Formerly Samuel told him, that his disobedience was as witchcraft; now Saul falls from the like to the same, and tradeth with Witches indeed, the receiver is as bad as the thief) and at his request she raiseth up Samuel to come unto him.

What, true Samuel? It is above Satans power to degrade a Saint from glory, though for a moment; fince his own fall thence

thence, he could fetch none from heaven. Or was it onely the true body of Samuel? no the precious ashes of the Saints (the pawn for the return of their fouls) are lock'd up safe in the cabinet of their graves, and the devill hath no Key unto it. Or lastly was it his seeming body? he that could not counterfeit the least and worst of worms, could he dissem-

ble the shape of one of the best and greatest of men?

Yet this is most probable, seeing Satan could change himself into an Angel of light, and God gives him more power at some times then at other. However, we will not be too peremptory herein, and build standing structures of bold affertions on so uncertain a foundation: rather with the Rechabites we will live in tents of conjectures, which on bet-

ter reason we may easily alter and remove.

The devils speech looks backward and forward, relates and foretells: the Historicall part thereof is easie, recounting Gods special favours to Saul, and his ingratitude to God, and the matter thereof very pious. Not every one that faith Lord, Lord (whether to him or of him) shall enter into the kingdome of heaven: for Satan here useth the Lords name six times in four verses. The Propheticall part of his speech is harder, how he could foretell, to morrow shalt thou and thy sonnes be with me: what, with me true Samuel in heaven? that was too good a place (will some say) for Saul: or with me true Satan in hell? that was too bad a place for Jonathan. What then? with me pretended Samuel in down in the state of the dead.

But how came the Witch or Satan by this knowledge? furely that ugly monfter never looked his face in that beautifull glasse of the Trinity, which (as some will have it) represents things to the blessed Angels. No doubt then he gathered it by experimentall collection, who, having kept an exact Ephemerides of all actions for more then five thouland years together, can thereby make a more then probable guelle of future contingents; the rather, because accidents in this world, are not so much new as renewed. Besides, he faw it in the naturall causes, in the strength of the Philistines,

and

and weaknesse of the Israelitish army, and in Davids ripeness to succeed Saul in the Throne. Perchance as vulturs are said to smell the earthlinesse of a dying corps; so this bird of prey resented a Worse then earthly savour in the soul of Saul, an evidence of his death at hand. Or else we may say, the devil knew it by particular revelation; for God to use the devil for his own turn, might impart it unto him, to advance wicked mens repute of Satans power, that they who would be deceived, should be deceived to believe that Satan knows more then he does.

The dismall news so frighted Saul, that he fell along on the earth, and yet at last is perswaded to arise and eat meat,

the killing and dressing a fat calf for him.

Witches generally are so poor they can scarce feed themselves: see here one able to feast a King. That which goeth into
the mouth defileth not: better eat meat of her dressing, then take
counsell of her giving, and her hands might be clean, whose
soul meddled with unclean spirits. Saul must eat somewhat,
that he might be strengthned to live to be kill'd, as afterwards it came to passe. And here the mention of this Witch
in Scripture vanisheth away, and we will follow her no farther. If afterward she escaped the justice of man, Gods
judgement, without her repentance, hath long since overtaken her.



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CHAP. 5. The life of JOAN of Arc.

Joan of Arc was born in a village called Domrenny upon the Marches of Bar, near to Vaucoleurs. Her parents, James of Arc and Isabell, were very poor people, and brought her up to keep sheep: where for a while we will leave her, and come to behold the miserable estate of the Kingdome of France wherein she lived.

In her time Charles the seventh was the distressed French King, having onely two entire provinces left him, Gascoigne and Languedoc, and his enemies were about them, and in all the rest, which were possessed by the English, under their young King Henrie the fixth, and his aged Generalls the Duke of Bedford, and the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk. Besides they had besieged the city of Orleance, and brought it to that passe, that the highest hopes of those therein, was to

yield on good terms.

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Matters standing in this wofull case, three French * No- * Gyrard Seiblemen projected with themselves, to make a cordiall for the Hailligan, in Chapter the consumption of the spirits of their King and Countreymen; feventh. but this seemed a great difficulty to perform, the French people being so much dejected: and when mens hearts are once down, it is hard to fasten any pullies to them to draw them up. However, they resolved to pitch upon some project out of the ordinary road of accidents, to elevate the peoples phancies thereby, knowing that mens phancies eafily flip off from smooth and common things, but are quickly catch'd and longest kept, in such plots as have odde angles, and strange unusuall corners in them,

Hereupon they concluded to set up the foresaid Joan of Arc, to make her pretend that the had a revelation from heaven, to be the leader of an army, to drive all the English out of France: and she being an handsome, witty, and bold maid (about twentie years of age,) was both apprehensive of the plot, and very active to prosecute it. But other Authours will not admit of any such complotting, but make her moved thereunto, either of her own, or by some spirits

instigation.

By the mediation of a Lord, she is brought to the presence of King Charles, whom the instantly knew, though never seen before, and at that time of set purpose much disguised. This very thing some heighten to a miracle, though others make it fall much beneath a wonder, as being no more then a Scholars ready-faying of that lesson, which he hath former learned without book. To the King she boldly delivers her message, how that this was the time wherein the finnes of the English, and the sufferings Hh

of the French, were come to the height, and she appointed by the God of heaven, to be the French leader to conquer the English. If this opportunity were let slip, let them thank heavens bounty for the tender, and their own folly for the refusall; and who would pity their eternall slavery, who

thrust their own liberty from themselves.

He must be deaf indeed who heares not that spoken which he desires. Charles triumphs at this news: Both his arms were too few to embrace the motion. The Fame of her flies through France, and all talk of her, whom the Divines esteem as Deborah, the Souldiers as Semiramis. People found out a nest of miracles in her education, that so lyon-like a spirit should be bred amongst sheep, like David.

Ever after the went in mans clothes, being armed cap-ape, and mounted on a brave Steed : and which was a wonder, when she was on horseback, none was more bold and daring; when * alighted, none more tame and meek; fo that one could scarce see her for her self, she was so chang'd and alter'd as if her spirits dismounted with her body. No sword would please her, but one taken out of the * Church of S. Katharine in Fierebois in Tourain. Her first service was in twice victualling of Orleance, whileft the English made no refistance, as if they had eyes onely to gaze, and no arms to fight.

Hence she sent a menacing * letter to the Earl of Suffolk, the English Generall, commanding him in Gods and her own name to yield up the keyes of all good cities to her, the Virgin fent by God to restore them to the French. The letter was received with scorn; and the trumpeter that brought it commanded to be burnt, against the Law of Nations, saith a French * Authour, but erroneously: for his coming was not warranted by the authority of any lawfull Prince, but from a private maid, how highly soever self-pretended, who had neither estate to keep, nor commission to send a trumpeter.

Now the minds of the French yvere all affoat with this

* Gerson. lib. de mirab. vi-Horia cujusdam puella, pauld poft ini-* Polidor. Virg. in Hen. fixth,pag.471.

* See the coppy thereof in Speeds King Hen. 654.

* Du Scrres in his French Hift. tranflat. by Grimston, pag. 326.

the conceit of their New Generall, which miraculously raifed their Spirits. Phancie is the castle commanding the city; and it once mens heads be pollelt with strange imaginations, the whole body will follow, and be infinitely transported therewithall. Under her conduct they first drive away the English from Orleance: nor was she a whit daunted, when shot through her arm with an arrow; but taking the arrow in one hand, and her sword in another, This is a * fayour, said she; let us go on, they cannot escape the hand of God:and the never left off, till the had beaten the English from the city. And hence this virago (call her now John or Joan) marched on into other countreys, which instantly revolted to the French crown. The example of the first place was the reason of all the rest to submit. The English in many skirmishes were worsted and defeated with few numbers. But what shall we say? when Gods intends a Nation shall be beaten, he ties their hands behind them.

The French followed their blow, losing no time, lest the height of their Spirits should be remitted (: mens Imaginations vivhen once on foot, must ever be kept going, like those that go on stilts in senny countreys, lest standing still they be in danger of falling) and so keeping the conceit of their souldiers at the height, in one twelvemoneth they recovered the greatest part of that the English did

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But successe did afterwards sail this She-Generall: for seeking to surprise S. Honories ditch near the city of S. Denis, she was not onely wounded her self, but also lost a Troup of her best and most resolute souldiers, and not long after, nigh the city of Compeigne, being too farre engaged in fight, was taken prisoner by the bastard of Vendosme, who sold her to the Duke of Bedford, and by him she was kept a prisoner a twelvemoneth in Rohan.

It was much disputed amongst the Statists vyhat should be done vvith her: Some held that no punishment vvas to be inflicted on her, because

Hh 2

Nullum

*Idem.p.317.

Nullum memorabile nomen

Faminea in pana.

Cruelty to a woman,

Brings honour unto no man.

Besides, putting her to death, would render all English men guilty which should hereaster be taken prisoners by the French. Her former valour deserved praise, her present misery deserved pity; captivity being no ill action, but ill successes let them rather allow her an honourable pension, and so make her valiant deeds their own by rewarding them. However, she ought not to be put to death: for if the English would punish her, they could not more disgrace her then with life, to let her live though in a poore mean way, and then she would be the best consutation of her own glorious prophesies; let them make her the Laundresse to the English, who was the Leader to the French army.

Against these arguments necessitie of State was urged, a reason above all reason, it being in vain to dispute whether that may be done, which must be done. For the French superstition of her, could not be reformed except the idole was destroyed; and it would spoil the French puppet-playes in this nature for ever after, by making her an example. Besides, she was no prisoner of warre, but a prisoner of Justice, deserving death for her witchcraft and whoredomes; whereupon she was burnt at Rohan the sixth of July 1461, not

without the aspersion of * cruelty on our Nation.

Learned * men are in a great doubt what to think of her. Some make her a Saint, and inspired by Gods Spirit, whereby she discovered strange secrets, and foretold things to come. She had ever an old * woman which went with her, and tutoured her; and 'tis suspicious, seeing this clock could not go without that rusty wheel, that these things might be done by confederacie, though some more uncharitable conceive them to be done by Satan himself.

Two customes she had which can by no way be defended. One was her constant going in mans clothes, slatly against

Scripture:

* Sententia
post homines
natos durisima, Pol. Vir.
pag. 477.
* Gerfon in
the book which
he wrote of
her, after long
discussing the
point, leaves it
uncertain, but
is rather charitably inclined.
* Serres, pag.

325.

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Scripture: yea, mark all the miracles in Gods Word, wherein though mens estates be often chang'd (poore to rich, bond to free, fick to found, yea dead to living) yet we reade of no old Æson made young, no woman Iphis turn'd to a man, or man Tirefias to a woman; but as for their age or fex, where nature places them, there they stand, and miracle it self will not remove them. Utterly unlawfull therefore was this Joans behaviour, as an occasion to lust; and our English Writers say, that when she was to be condemned, she confest'd her self to be with * child to prolong her life; but | * Pol. Virgil. being reprived seven moneths for the triall thereof, it was found false. But grant her honest: though she did not burn her felf, yet she might kindle others, and provoke them to wantonnesse.

Besides, she shaved her hair in the fashion of a * Frier, | Gerson. against Gods expresse word, it being also a Solecisme in nature, all women being born votaries, and the veil of their long hair minds them of their obedience, they naturally owe to man: yea, without this comely ornament of hair, their most glorious beauty appears as deformed, as the sunne would be prodigious without beams. Herein she had a finack of Monkery, which makes all the rest the more suspicious, as being sent to maintain as well the Friers, as the French Crown. And if we survey all the pretended miracles of that age, we shall find what tune soever they sung, still they had something in the close in the favour of Friers, though brought in as by the by, yet perchance chiefly intended, so that the whole sentence was made for the parenthesis.

We will close the different opinions which severall Authours have of her, with this Epitaph,

Here lies Foan of Arc, the which Some count faint, and some count witch; Some count man, and something more; Some count maid, and some a whore: Her life's in question, wrong, or right; Her death's in doubt, by laws, or might. Hh 3

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Oh innocence take heed of it,

How thou too near to guilt dost sit.

(Mean time France a wonder saw,

A woman rule 'gainst Salique Law.)

But, Reader, be content to stay

Thy censure, till the Judgement-day:

Then shalt thou know, and not before,

Whether Saint, Witch, Man, Maid, or Whore.

Some conceive that the English conquests, being come to the verticall point, would have decayed of themselves, had this woman never been set up, which now reaps the honour hereof as her action: Though thus a very child may seem to turn the waves of the sea with his breath, if casually blowing on them at that very instant when the tide is to turn of it self. Sure after her death the French went on victoriously, and wonne all from the English, partly by their valour, but more by our dissensions; for then began the cruell warres betwixt the Houses of York and Lancaster, till the Red rose might become White, by losing so much bloud, and the White rose Red by shedding it.

CHAP. 6.

The Atheist.

The word Atheist is of a very large extent: every Polytheist is in effect an Atheist, for he that multiplies a Deitie, annihilates it; and he that devides it, destroyes it.

But amongst the heathen we may observe that whosoever sought to withdraw people from their idolatry, was presently indited and arraign'd of Atheisme. If any Philosopher saw God through their gods, this dust was cast in his eyes, for being more quick-sighted then others, that presently he was condemn'd for an Atheist; and thus Socrates the Pagan Martyr was put to death * &s "Ays. At this day three sorts of Atheists are extant in the world:

*Justin.Martyr secund. Apolog. pro (bristian.pag. 1 In life and conversation. Psal. 10. 4. God is not in all his thoughts; not that he thinks there is no God; but thinks not there is a God, never minding or heeding him in the whole course of his life and actions.

In will and desire. Such could wish there were no God; or devil; as thieves would have no judge nor

jaylour; Quod metuunt periisse expetunt.

Atheists, there are more in the world then are generally thought; of this latter, more are thought to be, then there are, a contemplative Atheist being very rare, such as were * Diagoras, Protagoras, Lucian, and Theodorus, who though carrying God in his name, was an Atheist in his opinion. Come we to see by what degrees a man may climbe up to this height of Profanenesse. And we will suppose him to be one living in wealth and prosperity, which more disposeth men to Atheisme then adversity: For affliction mindeth men of a Deity, as those which are pinched will cry, O Lord: but much outward happinesse abused, occasioneth men, as wise Agur observeth, to deny God, and say, Who is the Lord.

First he quarrels at the diversities of religions in the world: complaining how great Clerks diffent in their judgements, which makes him scepticall in all opinions: Whereas such differences should not make men carelesse to have any, but carefull to have the best religion.

He loveth to maintain Paradoxes, and to shut his eyes against the beams of a known truth; not onely for discourse, which might be permitted: for as no cloth can be woven except the woof and the warp be cast crosse one to another, so discourse will not be maintained without some opposition for the time. But our enclining-atheist goes further, engaging his affections in disputes, even in such matters where the supposing them wounds piety, but the positive maintaining them stabs it to the heart.

He scoffs and makes sport at sacred things. This by degrees H h 4 abates

*August. tom.
7. lib. 3. contra
Petitianum, c.
1. David cum
dicit, Stultus
dixit in corde,
& videtur
Diagoram
pradixisse.

Maxime I

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abates the reverence of religion, and ulcers mens hearts with profanenesse. The Popish Proverb well understood hath a truth in it, Never dog bark'd against the Crucifix, but he ran mad.

Hence he proceeds to take exception at Gods Word. He keeps a register of many difficult places of Scripture, not that he defires satisfaction therein, but delights to puzzle Divines therewith, and counts it a great conquest when he hath posed them. Unnecessary questions out of the Bible are his most necessary study; and he is more curious to know where Lazarus his soul was the soure dayes he lay in the grave, then carefull to provide for his own soul when he shall be dead. Thus is it just with God, that they who will not feed on the plain meat of his Word, should be choked with the bones thereof. But his principall delight is to sound the alarum, and to set severall places of Scripture to sight one against another, betwixt which there is a seeming, and he would make a reall contradiction.

Afterwards he grows so impudent as to deny the Scripture it self. As Sampson being fastned by a web to a pin, carried away both web and pin; so if any urge our Atheist with arguments from Scripture, and the him to the Authority of Gods Word, he denies both reason and Gods Word, to which the reason is fastened.

Hence he proceeds to deny God himself. First, in his Administration; then in his Essence. What else could be expected but that he should bite at last, who had snarl'd so long? First he denies Gods ordering of sublunarie matters; Tush, doth the Lord see, or is there knowledge in the most Highest? making him a maimed Deity, without an eye of Providence, or an arm of Power, and at most restraining him onely to matters above the clouds. But he that dares to confine the King of heaven, will soon after endeavour to depose him, and fall at last slatty to deny him.

He furnisheth himself with an armoury of arguments to fight against his own conscience: Some taken from

The impunity and outward happinesse of wicked men: as the heathen Poet, whose verses for me shall passe unenglished. Esse Deos credámne? fidem jurata fefellit, Et facies illi, que fuit ante, manet.

And no wonder if an Atheist breaks his neck thereat, whereat the foot of David himself did almost * flip, when he law the prosperity of the wicked; whom

God onely reprives for punishment hereafter.

2 From the afflictions of the godly, whilest indeed God onely tries their faith and patience. As Absalom complain'd of his Father Davids government, that none were deputed to redresse peoples grievances; so he objects that none righteth the wrongs of Gods people, and thinks (proud dust) the world would be better steered if he were the Pilot thereof.

3 From the delaying of the day of Judgement, with those mockers 2. Peter 3. Whole objections the Apostle fully answereth. And in regard of his own particular, the Atheist hath as little cause to rejoyce at the deferring of the day of Judgement, as the Thief hath reason to be glad, that the Assizes be put off, who is to be tryed, and may be executed before, at the Quarter-sessions: So death may take our Atheist off, before the day of

udgement come.

With these and other arguments he struggles with his own conscience, and long in vain seeks to conquer it, even fearing that Deity he flouts at and dreading that God whom he denies. And as that famous Athenian fouldier * Cynegirus, catching hold of one of the enemies ships held it first with his right hand, and when that was cut off, with his left, and when both were cut off, yet still kept it with his teeth; so the conscience of our Atheist, though he bruise it, and beat it, and maim it never so much, still keeps him by the teeth, still feeding and gnawing upon him, torturing and tormenting him with thoughts of a Deity, which the other defires to suppresse.

At last he himself is utterly overthrown by conquering his own conscience. God in justice takes from him the light which he thrust from himself, and delivers him up to a seared consci* Ovid. lib. 2 Amor Eleg.3

* Pfal. 73.

*: fuslin,lib.2.

* Because of these naturall forms in wood and stone, it scems that from thence the Dukes affum'd their armes. *Cambd.Brit. in Warwick-

Shire.

*Paul. Diacon. lib. 15.

ence, and a reprobate mind, whereby hell takes possession of him. The Apostle saith, Acts 17. 27. That a man may feel God in his works: But now our Atheist hath a dead palley, is past all sense, and cannot perceive God who is every where presented unto him. It is most strange, yet most true, which is reported, that the arms of the Duke of Rohan France, which are fufills or lozenges, are to be seen in the the wood or stones throughout all his countrey, so that break a stone in the middle, or lop a bough of a tree, and one shall behold the grain thereof (by some secret cause in Nature) * diamonded or streaked in the fashion of a lozenge: yea the very same in effect is observed in England: for the resemblances of starres, the arms of the worshipfull family of the Shugburies in Warwickshire, are found in the * stones within their own mannour of Shugbury. But what shall we say? The arms of the God of heaven namely Power. Wisdome, and Goodnesse, are to be seen in every creature in the world, even from worms to men; and yet our Atheist will not acknowledge them, but ascribes them either to Chance, (but could a blind painter limme such curious pictures) or else to Nature, which is a mere slight of the devil to conceal God from men, by calling him after another name; for what is natura naturans but God himself?

His death commonly is most miserable: either burnt, as Diagoras; or eaten up with lice, as * Pherecydes; or devoured by dogs, as Lucian; or thunder-shot and turn'd to ashes, as Olimpius, However descending impenitent into hell, there he is Atheist no longer, but hath as much religion as the de-

vil, to confesse God and tremble:

Nullus in inferno est Atheos, ante fuit. On earth were Atheists many,

In hell there is not any.

All speak truth, when they are on the rack; but it is a wofull thing to be hells Convert, And there we leave the Atheist, having dwelt the longer on his Character, because that speech of worthy Mr. * Greenham deserves to be heeded, That Atheisme in England is more to be feared then Popery.

* In his grave Counfell, pag.

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To give an instance of a speculative Atheist, is both hard and dangerous: hard; for we cannot see mens speculations, otherwise then as they cloth themselves visible in their actions, some Atheisticall speeches being not sufficient evidence to convict the speaker an Atheist. Dangerous; for what satisfaction can I make to their memories, if I challenge any of so foul a crime wrongfully? We may more safely insist on an Atheist in life and conversation; and such a one was he whom we come to describe.

CHAP. 7.

The life of CESAR BORGIA.

Esar Borgia was base-son to Rhoderick Borgia, otherwise called Pope Alexander the fixth. This Alexander was the * first of the Popes who openly owned his bastards; and whereas his Predecessours (counting fig-leaves better then nothing to cover their nakednesse) disguised them under the names of Nephews and God-sonnes; he was such a savage in his lust, as nakedly to acknowledge his base children, and especially this Celar Borgia, being like his Father in the Iwarthinesse of the complexion of his soul.

His Father first made him a Cardinall, that thereby his shoulders might be enabled to bear as much Church-preferment as he could load upon him. But Borgia's active spirit disliked the profession, and was ashamed of the Gospel, which had more cause to be ashamed of him; wherefore he quick-

ly got a dispensation to uncardinall himself.

The next hindrance that troubled his high designes was, that his elder brother, the Duke of Candia, stood betwixt him and preferment. It is reported also that these two brothers justled together in their incest with their own sister Lucretia, one as famous for her whoredomes, as her namefake had * formerly been for her chastity. The throne and the bed cannot severally abide partners, much lesse both

* Guicciard. History of Italy lib. 1.

* Idem lib. 3.

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meeting together as here they did. Wherefore Cesar Borgia took order, that his brother was kill'd one night as he rode alone in the city of Rome, and his body cast into Tyber; and now he himself stood without competitour in his fathers and sisters affection.

His father was infinitely ambitious to advance him, as intending not onely to create him a Duke, but also to create a Dukedome for him, which seemed very difficult, if not impossible; for he could neither lengthen the land, nor lessen the sea in Italie; and petty Princes therein were already crouded so thick, there was not any room for any more. However, the Pope by somenting the discords betwixt the French and Spanish about the kingdome of Naples, and by embroyling all the Italian States in civil dissensions, out of their breaches pick'd forth a large Principality for his sonne,

managed in this manner.

There is a fair and fruitfull Province in Italie, called Romania, parcelled into severall States, all holding as seodaries from the Pope, but by small pensions, and those seldome paid. They were bound also not to serve in arms against the Church, which old tie they little regarded, and lesse observed, as conceiving time had fretted it as under; souldiers generally more weighing his gold that entertaineth them, then the cause or enemy against whom they fight. Pope Alexander set his sonne Borgia to reduce that countrey to the Churches jurisdiction, but indeed to subject it to his own absolute hereditary Dominion. This in short time he "effected, partly by the assistance of the French King, whose pensioner he was, (and by a French title made Duke Valentinois) and partly by the effectuall aid of the Ursines, a potent Family in Italie.

But afterward the Ursines too late were sensible of their errour herein, and grew suspicious of his greatnesse. For they in helping him to conquer so many petty States, gathered the severall twigs, bound them into a rod, and put it into his hands to beat them therewith. Whereupon they began by degrees to withdraw their help, which Borgia per-

ceived

*. Guicciard. lib. 4. pag. 237. ceived, and having by flattery and fair promises got the principall of their Family into his hands, he put them * all to * Machiavill the sword. For he was perfect in the devilish art of dealing cap. 7. an ill turn, doing it so suddenly his enemies should not heare of him before; and so soundly, that he should never heare of them afterwards, either striking alwayes furely, or not at all.

Chap. 7.

And now he thought to cast away his crutches, and stand on his own legs, rendring himself absolute, without being beholden to the French King or any other: Having wholly conquer'd Romania, he cast his eyes on Hetruria, and therein either wan to submission or compliance most of the cities, an earnest of his future finall conquest, had not the unexpected death of his father Pope Alexander prevented him.

This Alexander with his sonne Cesar Borgia intended to poyson some rich Cardinalls, to which purpose a flagon of poyloned wine was prepared: But through the *errour of a servant, not privy to the project, the Pope himself and Borgia his sonne drank thereof, which cost the former his

life, and the other a long languishing ficknesse.

This Cefar Borgia once bragg'd to Machiavill, that he had fo cunningly contrived his plots, as to warrant himfelf against all events. If his father should die first, he had made himself master of such a way, that by the strength of his party in the city of Rome, and conclave of Cardinalls, he could chuse what Pope he pleased; so from him to get assurance of this province of Romania to make it hereditary to himself. And if (which was improbable) Nature should crosse her hands, so that he should die before his father, yet even then he had chalked out such a course, as would ensure his conquest to his posterity: so that with this politick dilemma he thought himself able to dispute against heaven it felf.

But (what he afterwards complained of) he never expected, that at the same time wherein his father should die, he himself should also lie desperately sick, disenabled to prolecute

* Guicciard.1. 6. pag. 307.

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prosecute his designes, till one unexpected counterblast of Fortune, russed yea blew away all his projects so curiously plaited. Thus three aces chance often not to rub; and Politicians think themselves to have stopp'd every small cranny, when they have left a whole doore open, for divine pro-

vidence to undo all which they have done.

The Cardinalls proceed to the choice of a new Pope, whileft Borgia lay fick abed, much bemoaning himfelf; for all others (had they the command of all April showers) could not bestow on drop of pity upon him. Pius the third was first chosen Pope, answering his name, being a devout man (fuch black swans seldome swim in Tyber); but the chair of Pestilence choked him within twenty six dayes, and in his room Julius was cholen, or rather his greatnesse chose himself, a sworn enemy to Celar Borgia, who still lay under the Physicians hands, and had no power to oppose the election, or to strengthen his new-got Dukedome of Romania: the state of his body was to be preferred before the body of his state; and he lay striving to keep life, not to make a Pope. Yea the operation of this poylon, made him vomit up the Dukedome of Romania, which he had swallowed before; and whilest he lay sick, the States and cities therein recovered their own liberties formerly enjoyed.

Indeed this disease made Borgia lose his nails, that he could never after scratch to do any mischief; and being banished Italie, he fled into Navarre, where he was obscurely

kill'd in a tumultuous insurrection.

He was a man master in the art of dissembling, never looking the same way he rowed; extremely lustfull, never sparing to tread hen and chickens. At the taking of Capua, where he assisted the French, he reserved * fourty of the fairest Ladies to be abused by his own wantonnesse. And the prodigality of his lust, had long before his death, made him bankrupt of all the moysture in his body, if his Physicians had not dayly repaired the decayes therein. He exactly knew the operations of all hot and cold poysons,

* Idem, lib.5. pag. 260. poylons, which would surprise nature on a sudden, and which would weary it out with a long siege. He could contract a hundred toads into one drop, and cunningly infuse the same into any pleasant liquour, as the Italians have poysoning at their fingers ends. By a fig (which restored Hezekiahs * life) he took away the lives of many. In a word, if he was not a practical! Atheist, I know not who was.

* 2.Kings 20.

If any defire to know more of his badnesse, let them reade Machiavills Prince, where Borgia is brought in as an * instance of all vilany. And though he deserves to be hiss'd out of Christendome, who will open his mouth in the defence jicere, Machiof Machiavills precepts, yet some have dared to defend his avel Prince, person fo that he in his Book shews not what Princes 73. should be, but what then they were; intending that work, not for a glasse for future Kings to dresse themselves by, but onely therein to present the monstrous face of the Politicians of that Age. Sure, he, who is a devil in this book, is a Saint * in all the rest; and those that knew him, * witnesse cially his Flohim to be of honest life and manners : so that that which hath sharpned the pens of many against him, is his giving so many cleanly wipes to the foul noses of the Pope and part. 3. Itenum Italian Prelacy.

* Nunquam verebor in excap. 13. pag.

* His notes on Livy, but espe-His notes on rentine History favours of Religion. * Boissardus virorum illuftrium.

CHAP. S.

The Hypocrite.

DY Hypocrite we understand such a one as doth (Isaiah 32. 6. practise hypocrisie, make a trade or work of dissembling: For otherwise, * Hypocriseorum macula carere, aut paucorum est, aut nullorum. The best of Gods children have a smack of hypocrifie.

An Hypocrite is himself both the archer and the mark, in all actions shooting at his own praise or profit. And therefore he doth all things that they may be seen: What with others is held a

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* Hieronym. lib. 2. contra Pelag. O August in cadem verba, Serm. 59. de Tempore. Maxime I 3

principall point in Law, is his main Maxime in Divinity, To have good witnesse. Even fasting it self is meat and

drink to him, whileft others behold it.

In the outside of religion he out-shines a sincere Christian. Guilt cups glitter more then those of massie gold, which are seldome burnish'd. Yea, well may the Hypocrite afford gaudy facing, who cares not for any lining; brave it in the shop, that hath nothing in the ware house. Nor is it a wonder if in outward service he out-strips Gods servants, who outdoeth Gods command by will-worship, giving God more then he requires; though not what most he requires, I mean, his heart.

His vizard is commonly pluckt off in this world. Sincerity is an entire thing in it self: Hypocrific consists of severall pieces cunningly closed together; and sometimes the Hypocrite is smote (as Ahab with an arrow, 1. Kings 22. 34.) betwix the joynts of his armour, and so is mortally wounded in his reputation. Now by these shrew'd signes a dissembler is often discovered: First, heavie censuring of others for light saults: secondly, boasting of his own goodnesse: thirdly, the unequall beating of his pulse in matters of pieties hard, strong and quick, in publick actions; weak, soft and dull, in private matters: fourthly, shrinking in persecution; for painted saces cannot abide to come nigh the fire.

Yet sometimes he goes to the grave neither detected nor suspected. If Masters in their art, and living in peaceable times, wherein pietie and prosperity do not fall out, but agree well together. Maud, mother to King Henry the second, being besieged in * Winchester castle, counterfeited her self to be dead, and so was carried out in a costin whereby she escaped. Another time being besieged at * Oxford in a cold winter, with wearing white apparell, she got away in the snow undiscovered. Thus some Hypocrites by dissembling mortification, that they are dead to the world, and by prosessing a snow-like purity in their conversations, escape all their life time undiscerned by mortall eyes.

*Cambd.Brit. in Hantshire.

* Matth. Paris in Auno Dom. 1141. By long diffembling piety, he deceives himself at last: Yea, he may grow so insatuated, as to conceive himself no diffembler, but a sincere Saint. A scholar was so possessed with his lively personating of King Richard the third, in a Colledge-Comedy, that ever after he was transported with a royall humour in his large expences, vehich brought him to beggary, though he had great preferment. Thus the Hypocrite by long acting the part of piety, at last believes himself really to be such an one, vehom at first he did but counterfeit.

God here knows, and hereafter will make Hypocrites known to the whole world. Ottocar King of Bohemia refused to do homage to Rodulphus the first, Emperour, till at last, chastised with vvarre, he vvas content to do him homage privately in a tent; vvhich tent vvas so contrived by the Emperours servants, that by drawing one cord, it vvas all taken away, and so Ottocar presented on his knees doing his homage, to the view of three Armies in presence. Thus God at last shall uncase the closest dissembler, to the sight of men, angels, and devils, having removed all veils and pretences of piety: no goat in a sheepskin shall steal on his right hand at the last day of judgement.

*Pantaleon in vita Rodulph.
Imperat. lib.
de Illustrib.
Germ. part.
2.285.

Снар. 9.

The life of JEHU.

JEhu the sonne of Jehosaphat, the sonne of Nimshi, vvas one of an active spirit, and therefore employed to confound the house of Ahab; for God, vvhen he means to shave clear, chooses a razour with a sharp edge, and never sendeth a slug on a message that requireth haste.

A sonne of the Prophets sent by Elisha privately anointed him King at Ramoth Gilead, vvhereupon he was proclaimed King by the consent of the army. Surely God sent also an invisible messenger to the souls of his fellovv-

Ii 3

captains,

captains, and anointed their hearts with the oyl of Subjection, as he did Jehu's head with the oyl of Sovereignty.

Secrecie and celerity are the two wheels of great actions. Jehu had both: he marched to Jezreel faster then Fame could flie, whose wings he had clipt by stopping all intelligence, that so at once he might be seen and felt of his enemies. In the way meeting with Jehoram and Ahaziah, he conjoyned them in their deaths, who consorted together in idolatrie. The corps of Jehoram he orders to be cast into Nabaoths vineyard, a garden of herbs royally dung'd, and watered with bloud.

Next he revengeth Gods Prophets on cruel Jezabell, whose wicked carcase was devoured by dogs to a small reversion, as if a head that plotted, and hands that practif dso much mischief, and feet so swift to shed blond, were not meat good enough for dogs to eat. Then by a letter he commands the heads of Ahabs seventy sonnes (their Guardians turning their executioners) whose heads being laid on two heaps at the gate of Jezreel served for two soft pillows for Jehu to sleep sweetly upon, having all these corrivalls to the Crown taken away.

The Priests of Baal follow after. With a pretty wile he fetches them all into the temple of their Idole, where having ended their facrifice, they themselves were facrificed. However I dare not acquit Jehu herein. In Holy Fraud I like the Christian, but not the sirname thereof, and wonder how any can marry these two together in the same action, seeing surely the parties were never agreed. This I dare say, Be it unjust in Jehu, it was just with God, that the worshippers of a false God should be deceived with a seeigned worship.

Hitherto I like Jehu as well as Josiah, his zeal blazed as much: But having now got the Crown, he discovers himself a dissembling Hypocrite. It was an ill signe when he said to Jonadab the sonne of Rechab, Come with me, and see my zeal for the Lord. Bad inviting guests to feed their eyes on our goodnesse. But Hypocrites rather then they will lose a drop of praise, will lick it up with their own tongue.

Before,

Before, he had diffembled with Baal, now he counterfeits with God. He took no heed to walk in the way of the Lord God of Israel with all his heart: formerly his sword had two edges, one cut for Gods glory, the other for his own preferment. He that before drove so suriously, whilest his private ends whipt on his horses, now will not go a foot-pace in Gods commandments, He departed not from the golden calves in Dan and Bethel.

I know what Flesh will object, that this State-sinne Jehn must commit to maintain his kingdome: for the lions of gold did support the throne of Solomon, but the calves of gold the throne of Jeroboam and his Successours. Should he suffer his Subjects to go up to Jerusalem thrice a yeare (as the Law * of Moses commanded) this would un-King him in effect, as leaving him no able Subjects to command. And as one in the heathen Poet complains,

Tres sumus imbelles numero, sine viribus uxor,

Laertésque senex, Telemachusque puer.

Three weaklings we, a wife for warre too mild,

Laertes old, Telemachus a child.

So thrice a yeare should Jehu onely be King over such an impotent company of old men, women, and children. Bestides, it was to be feared that the ten Tribes going to Jerusalem to worship, where they fetch'd their God, would also

have their King.

But Faith will answer, that God that built Jehu's throne without hands, could support it without buttresses, or being beholden to idolatry: And therefore herein Jehu, who would needs piece out Gods providence with his own carnall policie, was like a foolish greedy gamester, who having all the game in his own hand, steals a needlesse card to assure himself of winning the stake, and thereby loses all. For this deep diver was drown'd in his own policie, and Hazael King of Syria was raised up by God to trouble and molest them. Yet God revvarded him vvith a lease of the Kingdome of foure successive lives, who had he been sincere vvould have assured him of a Crovvn here and hereaster.

*Exod.34.23.

Ii 4

CHAP. 10.

* Hîc videtur

quòd omnis

qui non obedit statutis

Romanæ sedis

Glossa in C. nulli dist. 19.

in verbo Pro-

lib. 3. Annal. Boior.

stratus. *foh. Avent.

CHAP. 10.

The Heretick.

It is very difficult accurately to define him. Amongst the Heathen Atheist was, and amongst Christians Heretick is the disgracefull word of course, alwayes cast upon those who dissent from the predominant current of the time. Thus those who in matters of opinion varied from the *Popes copie the least hair-stroke, are condemned for Hereticks. Yea, Virgilius Bishop of Saltzburg was branded with that censure, for maintaining that there were *Antipodes opposite to the then known world. It may be, as Alexander, hearing the Philosophers dispute of more worlds, wept that he had conquered no part of them; so it grieved the Pope that these Antipodes were not subject to his jurisdiction, which much incensed his Holinesse against that strange opinion. We will branch the description of an Heretick into these three parts.

* 1.Joh. 2.19.

- * They went out from us, but they were not of us. These asterwards prove more offensive to the Church then very Pagans; as the English-Irish, descended anciently of English Parentage (be it spoken with the more shame to them, and sorrow to us) turning wild, become worse enemies to our Nation then the Native Irish themselves.
- 2 Maintaining a Fundamentall errour. Every scratch in the hand, is not a stab to the heart; nor doth every false opinion make a Heretick.
- 3 With obstinacy. Which is the dead flesh, making the green wound of an errour, fester into the old fore of an Heresie.

Maxime 1

It matters not much what manner of person he hath. If beautifull, perchance the more attractive of feminine followers: If deformed, so that his body is as odde as his opinions,

Chap. 10. The Heretick.	379
he is the more properly entitled to the reputation of crooked Saint.	
His natural parts are quick and able. Yet he that shall ride on a winged horse to tell him thereof, shall but come too late, to bring him stale news of what he knew too well before.	2
Learning is necessary in him if he trades in a criticall errour: but if he onely broches dregs, and deals in some dull sottish opinion, a trouell will serve as well as a pencill to daub on such thick course colours. Yea, in some Heresies deep studying is so uselesse, that the first thing they learn, is to inveigh against all learning.	3
However some smattering in the original tongues will do well. On occasion he will let flie whole vollies of Greek and Hebrew words, whereby he not onely amazeth his ignorant	•
Auditours; but also in conferences daunteth many of his op- posers, who (though in all other learning farre his superi-	
ours) may perchance be conscious of want of skill in those languages, whilest the Heretick hereby gains credit to his cause and person.	ala a de la constante de la co
His behaviour is seemingly very pious and devout. How foul soever the postern and back-doore be, the gate opening to the street is swept and garnished, and his outside adorned with pretended austerity.	5
He is extremely proud and discontented with the times, quarrelling that many beneath him in piety, are above him in place. This pride hath caused many men, which otherwise might have been shining lights, prove smoaking firebrands in the Church.	6
Having first hammered the herefie in himself, he then falls to se- ducing of others: so hard it is for one to have the itch, and not so scratch. Yea Babylon her self will alledge, that for Sions sake she will not hold her peace. The necessity of propogating the truth is errours plea, to divulge her falshoods. Men, as naturally they desire to know, so they desire what they know should be known.	7
If challenged to a private dispute, his impudence bears him out.	8

He counts it the onely errour to confesse he hath erred. His face is of brasse, which may be said either ever or never to blush. In disputing, his Modus is fine modo; and, as if all figures (even in Logick) were magicall, he neglects all forms of reasoning, counting that the onely Syllogisme which is his conclusion.

He flights any Synod if condemning his opinions; esteeming the decisions thereof, no more then the forfeits in a barbers shop, where a Gentlemans pleasure is all the obligation to pay, and none are bound except they will bind themselves.

Sometimes he comes to be put to death for his obstinacy. Indeed some charitable Divines have counted it inconsistent with the lenity of the Gospel, which is to expect and endeavour the amendment of all, to put any to death for their false opinions; and we reade of S. Paul (though the Papists paint him alwayes with a sword) that he onely came with a rod. However, the * mildest Authours allow, that the Magistrate may inflict capitall punishments on Hereticks, in cases of

1 Sedition against the State wherein he lives. And indeed such is the sympathy betwixt Church and Commonwealth, that there are sew Heresies, except they be purely speculative (and so I may say have heads without hands, or any practicall influence;) but in time the violent maintainers of them may make a dangerous impression in the State.

2 Blasphemy against God, and those points of religion which are awfully to be believed.

For either of these our Heretick sometimes willingly undergoes death, and then, in the Calender of his own conceit, he canonizeth himself for a Saint, yea, a Martyr.

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* Gerards Commonplaces de Magistrat. Polit. pag. 1047.

CHAP. 11.

The rigid Donatists.

The Donatists were so called from a double Donatus, whereof the one planted the sect, the other water'd it, and the devil by Gods permission gave the increase. The elder Donatus being one of tolerable parts, and intolerable pride, rais'd a Schisme in Carthage against good Cecilian the Bishop there, whom he loaded unjustly with many crimes, which he was not able to prove; and vexed with this disgrace, he thought to right his credit by wronging religion, and so began the *heresie of Donatists.

His most dominative tenet was, that the Church was perished from the face of the earth, the reliques thereof onely remaining in his party. I instance the rather on this Heresie, because the reviving thereof is the new disease of our times. One * Vibius in Rome was so like unto Pompey, ut permutato statu Pompeius in illo, & ille in Pompeio, salutari possit: Thus the Anabaptists of our dayes, and such as are Anabaptistically inclin'd, in all particulars resemble the old Donatists, abating onely that difference which is necessarily required to make them alike.

The epithet of rigid I therefore do adde, to separate the Donatists from themselves, who separated themselves from all other Christians. For there were two principall sides of them: first, the Rogatists, from Rogatus their teacher, to whom S. Augustine beareth witnesse, that they had zeal, but not according to knowledge. These were pious people for their lives, hating bloudy practices, though erroneous in their doctrine. The learned * Fathers of that age, count them part of the true Church, and their brethren, though they themselves disclaim'd any such brotherhood with other Christians. Oh the sacred violence of such worthy mens charity, in plucking those to them which thrust themselves away! But there was another fort of Jesuited Donatists, as I may say, whom they

Anno Domini

* Augustin.
ad Quod vult
Deum.

* Valer, Max. lib. 9. cap. 15.

[&]quot;Ipium Fraternitatis nomen utcunque Donatiftis faflidiofum, est tamen orthodoxis erga ip a sos Donatistas necessarium, Optat. lib.

* S. August. in Psat. 132. quia circum cellas vagantur, count them so called; which is rather his Allusson then the true Etymologic.

* Sr H. Spelman Councells, pag. 446. called Circumcellions, though as little reason can be given of their * name as of their opinions, whom we principally intend at this time.

Their number in short time grew not onely to be considerable, but terrible: their tenet was plausible and winning, and that Faith is easily wrought which teacheth men to believe well of themselves. From Numidia, where they began, they overspread Africa, Spain, France, Italie, and Rome it self. We find not any it Brittain, where *Pelagianisme mightily reigned: either because God in his goodnesse would not have one countrey at the same time visited with a double plague; or else because this insection was to come to this lland in after-ages, surbished up under a new name.

Their greatest increase was under Julian the Emperour. This Apostate, next to no religion, loved the worst religion best, and was a profess'd friend to all foes of goodnesse. The Donatists, being punished under former Christian Emperours, repaired to him for succour, not caring whethet it was an Olive or a Bramble they fled to, so be it afforded them shelter. They extoll'd him for such a godly man (flattery and falle doctrine go ever together) with whom alone * justice did remain; and he restored them their good Churches again, and armed them with many priviledges against Christians. Hereupon they raised a cruell persecution, killing many men in the very Churches, murthering women and infants, defiling virgins, or ravishing them rather, for consent onely defiles. God keep us from standing in the way where blind zeal is to passe, for it will trample down all before it, and mercy shall as foon be found at the hands of prevailing cowards. What the Anabaptists did in Germany, we know; what they would do here, had they power, God knows. The best security we have they will do no harm, is because they cannot.

We come to set down some of their principall opinions: I say, Principall; for at last they did enterfere with all Hereticks, Arians, Macedonians, &c. ignorant zeal is too blind to go right, and too active to stand still: yea all errours are

* Quòd apud eum folum juslitia locum baberet, Augcontra literas Petil. lib. 2. cap. 97.

of

when men have once left the truth, their onely quiet home, they will take up their lodging under any opinion, which hath the least shadow of probability. We will also set down some of their reasons, and how they torture Scripture with violent interpretations, to wrest from it a confession on their side, yet all in vain.

First Position.

That the true Church was perished from the face of the earth, the remnants thereof being onely in parte Donati, in that * part of Africa where Donatus and his followers were. The Anabaptists in like manner stifle Gods Church by crowding it into their corner, confining the monarchy of Christ in the Gospel, unto their own toparchy, and having a quarrell to the words in the Creed, Catholique Church.

The Donatifts Reasons.

It is said, Canticles 1. 7. Tell me, O thou whom my soul loveth, where thou feedest, where thou makest thy flocks to rest in the South.

By this the Donatists are meant: Africa wherein they lived was in the South.

Confutation.

An argument drawn from an *allegorie is weak, except all the obscurities therein be first explained. Besides, Africa Cesariensis (where the Donatists were) was much more West then South from Judea. But Gods Church cannot be contracted to the Chapel of Donatus, to which God himself (the truest surveyour) alloweth larger bounds, Psalm. 1.8. Ask of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. Now the restrainers of the Church to a small place (as much as in them lies) salssifie Gods promise, and shorten Christs portion. Many other * places speak the large extent of the Gospel, Gen. 22. 17. Gen. 28. 14. Psal. 72. 8. &c.

Second Position.

That their Church confifted of an holy company, pure and undefiled indeed. Thus also the Anabaptists brag of their holinesse, as if nothing else were required to make men K k

* August. lib. 2.contra.Crcscon. cap.37.

* Quis non impudentiffime nitatur aliquid in allegoria positum pro se interpretari, nisi habeat & manisesta testimonia quorum lunine illustrentur obscura, Aug.
Tom. 2. Epist.
48. ad Vincent.

* Optat.Milev. lib.2.69 Aug. contra. liter. Petil. cap. 6,

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pure, but a conceit that they are so. Sure had they no other fault but want of charity, their hands could not be clean, who throw so much dirt on other mens saces.

Reasons.

It is said, Ephes. 5. 27. That Christ might present to himself a glorious Church, without spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy, and without blemish: which the Donatists appropriate to themselves.

Confutation.

This glorious presentation of the Church is * performed in the world to come. Here it consisteth of sinners (who had rather confesse their wrinkles, then paint them) and had need no pray dayly, And forgive us our trespasses.

Third Position.

That mixt Communions were infectious, and the pious promiscuously receiving with the profane, are polluted thereby. Heare the Anabaptizing sing the same note, By * profane and ignorant persons coming to the Lords table, others also that communicate with them, are guilty of the same profanation.

Reasons.

Because severall places of Scripture commend, yea command, a separation from them. Jerem. 15. 19. Take forth the pretious from the vile. 2. Cor. 6. 17. Be ye separate, and touch no unclean thing. 2. Thess. 3. 6. Withdraw your selves from every brother that walketh disorderly. 1. Cor. 5. 7. Purge out therefore the old leven, &c.

Confutation.

In these and the like places two things are enjoyned: first, a separation from intimate familiarity with profane persons; secondly, a separation from their vices and wickednesse, by detesting and disclaiming them: but neither civill State-society, nor publick Church-communion, is hereby prohibited. By purging out the old leven, Church-censures are meant, to excommunicate the openly profane. But that mixt Communions pollute not, appears, because S. Paul saith, 1. Cor. 11.

28. But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, &c. but enjoyns not men to examine others; which was necessary

* Aug. ut priùs ad Vincentium, & epist. 50. ad Bonifac.

* Protestation protested, pag.

necessary if bad Communicants did defile. It neither makes the cheer or welcome the worse, to sit next to him at Gods table, who wants a wedding-garment; for he that touches his person, but disclaims his practices, is as farre from him, as the East from the West, yea as heaven from hell. In bodily diseases one may be infected without his knowledge, against his will: not so in spiritual contagions, where * ac- August. contr. ceditur ad vitium corruptionis vitio consensionis, and none can Lib. be infected against their consent.

Fourth Position.

That the godly were bound to sever from the society of the wicked, and not to keep any communion with them. Thus the most rigid of modern Factours for the Independent congregations, would draw their files out of the army of our Nationall Church, and let up a congregation wherein Christ shall reigne in Beautie and Puritie. But they may flie so far from mysticall Babylon, as to run to literall Babel, I mean bring all to confusion, and founder the Commonwealth: For they that stride so wide at once, will go farre with few paces.

Rea on.

Because it is written, 2. Cor. 6. 14. What * communion hath light with darknesse? and in other places, to the same effect.

Confutation.

The answer is the same with the former: But the tares shall grow with the corn. And in the visible militant Church and kingdome of grace, that wicked men shall be unseparablie mingled with the godly, besides our Saviours testimonie, Matth. 13. 30. these reasons do approve: first, because Hypocrites can never be severed, but by him that can learch the heart; secondly, because if men should make the leparation, weak Christians would be counted no Christians, and those who have a grain of grace under a load of imperfections, would be counted reprobates; thirdly, because Gods vessells of honour from all eternitie, not as yet appearing, but wallowing in finne, would be made castawayes; fourthly, because God by the mixture of the wicked with Kk 2

* Aug. lib. 2. cap. 39.

the godly, will try the watchfulnesse and patience of his servants; fifthly, because thereby he will bestow many favours on the wicked, to clear his justice, and render them the more inexcusable: lastly, because the mixture of the wicked, grieving the godly, will make them the more heartily pray for the day of judgement. The desire of surure glory makes the godly to cry, Come Lord Jesus; but the feeling of present pain (whereof they are most sensible) causeth the ingemination, Come Lord Jesus, come quickly. In a word, as it is wholsome for a slock of sheep for some goats to feed amongst them, their bad sent being good Physick for the sheep to keep them from the Shakings; so much profit redounds to the godly by the necessary mixture of the wicked amongst them, making the pious to stick the faster to God and goodnesse.

Fifth Position.

* Aug. lib. 1. contra liter. Petil. cap. 1. That * the efficacie of the Sacrament depends on the piety of the Minister; so that in effect, his piety washeth the water in baptisme, and sanctifieth it; whereas the profanenesse of a bad man administring it, doth unsacrament baptisme it self, making a nullity thereof. Herein the Anabaptists joyn hands with them, as 'tis generally known by their re-baptizing: Yea * some tending that way have maintained, that Sacraments received from ignorant and unpreaching Ministers, are of no validity.

*f. Penry pag. 46. and 49.

Reason.

It is written, Matth. 7.18. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.

Confutation.

This is true of mens personall, but not of their ministe-

* Aug. tract. 80. in Johan.

riall acts: that Minister that can adde the word * of institution to the element, makes a sufficient Sacrament: And Sacraments, like to shelmeats, may be eaten after fowl hands, without any harm. Cum * obsint indigne tractantibus, prosint tamen digne sumentibus. Yet God make all Ministers pious, painfull,

and able: we, if beholding the present age, may justly bemoan their want, who remembring the former age, must as justly admire their plentie.

Sixth

* Idem contra Parmen.lib.2. cap. 10.

Sixth Position.

That all learning and * eloquence was to be condemn'd. Late Sectarists go farther: Greenwood and Barrow * moved Queen Elizabeth to abolish both Universities,

Which we believe and wish may then be done, When all blear eyes have quite put out the Junne. Realon.

Because learning hath been the cause of many Heresies, and discords in the Church.

Confutation.

Not learning, but the conceit thereof in those that wanted it, and the abuse thereof in such as had it, caused Hereticks.

Seventh Position.

That Magistrates have no power to compell people to serve God by outward punishment: which is also the distill'd position of our Anabaptists, thus blinding the Minifters, and binding the Magistrate, what work do they make? Reason.

Because it is a breach of the * liberty of the creature : The * August. lib. King of heaven gave not men freewill, for the Kings of the GON. Cap. 51. earth to take it away from them.

Confutation.

God gave men freewill to use it well; if they abuse it, God gave Magistrates power to punish them, else they bear the fword in vain. They may command people to serve God, who herein have no cause to complain; better to be compell'd to a feast, Luke 14.23, then to runne to a fray. But these men who would not have Magistrates compell them, quere whether if they had power they would not compell Magistrates.

The Donatists also did mightily boast of miracles and vifions: they made nothing to step into the third heaven, and have familiar * dialogues with God himself : they used also to cite their revelations as arguments for their opinions; we will trust the coppy of such their visions to be true, when we see the original produc'd: herein the Anabaptists Kk 3

* Idem. lib.1. contra Cresco. cap. 30. * Di Soame writing against them, lib. 2. pag. 4.

* Donatus otavit, respon-det ei Deus de coelo, Aug. in Fohann. traft. 3. prope finem. * Theodoretus in fabulis Haret.

* Centuriator. cent. 4. c.5. p. 231. ex Theodoreto. come not behind them. Strange was the Donatists ambition of Martyrdome; they used to force such as they met to wound them mortally, or violently to stab and kill them; and on purpose to fall down from * steep mountains, which one day may wish the mountains to fall on them. For Martyrs are to die willingly, but not wilfully; and though to die be a debt due to nature, yet he that payes it before the time, may be called upon for repayment to die the second death.

Once many Donatists met a noble * Gentleman, and gave him a sword into his hand, commanding him to kill them, or threatning to kill him. Yet he result to do it, unlesse first they would suffer him to bind them all; for fear, said he, that when I have kill'd one or two of you, the rest alter their minds and fall upon me. Having sast bound them all, he soundly whipt them, and so let them alone. Herein he shewed more wit then they wanted, and more charity then wit, denying them their desires, and giving them their deserts, seeking to make true Saints by marring of salse Martyrs.

These Donatists were opposed by the learned writings of private Fathers, Optatus Milevitanus, and S. Augustine (no Heresie could bud out, but presently his pruning-hook was at it) and by whole Councells, one at Carthage, another at Arles. But the Donatists, whilest blessing themselves, cared not for the Churches Anathema's, being so farre from fearing her excommunications, that they prevented them in first excommunicating themselves by separation, and they count it a kindnesse to be shut out, who would willingly be gone.

Besides, they called at * Carthage an Anti-councell of their own faction, consisting of two hundred seventy Bishops, to confirm their opinions. Let Truth never challenge Errour at the weapon of number alone, without other arguments; for some Orthodox Councells have had sewer suffrages in them, then this Donatisticall conventicle; and we may see small Pocket-Bibles, and a great Folio-Alchoran.

But that which put the period to this Heresie (for after the six hundreth years of Christ, the Donatist appears not, I

looked

* Aug. Epift.
ad Vincenti-

looked after his place and he was not to be found) was partly their own dissensions, for they * crumbled into severall divisions amongst themselves: Besides the honest Rogatists (of whom before) they had severall sects, some more, some lesse strict, called from their severall masters, Cresconians, * Petilians, Ticonians, Parmenians, Maximians, &c. which much differed amongst themselves. Thus is it given to all Heresies to break out into under-factions, still going surther in their tenets; and such as take themselves to be twice-refined, will count all others to be but drosse, till there be as many Heresies as Hereticks; like the Ammonites, so scattered by Saul, 1. Sam. 11. 11. that there remained not two of them which were together.

But chiefly they were suppressed by the civil Magistrate (Moses will do more with a frown, then Aaron with a blow, I mean with Church-censures) for *Honorius the godly Emperour (with his arm above a thousand miles long) easily reach'd them in Europe, Asia, and Africa, and by punishments mixt with the Churches instructions, conver-

ted and reclaimed very many.

In such a case teaching without punishment had done little good, and punishment without teaching would have done much harm; both mingled together, by Gods blessing, caused the conversion of many, and finall suppression of that Heresie.

The same God of his goodnesse grant, that by the same means such as revive this Heresse nowadayes, may have their eyes opened and their mouthes stopp'd, their pride lesse and their knowledge more, that those may be stayed which are going, and those brought back which are gone into their dangerous opinions. For if the angels in heaven rejoyce at the conversion of a sinner, none but devils and men devilishly minded will be sorrowfull thereat.

* In minutula frujtula,

* Petilian
went not fo
farre as the
rest, Aug. lib.
3. de correct.
Donatic. 17.
19. Vid. Aug.
de fehifm.
Maxim. brevi.
collat. 3. dici.

* He caused the Patent of priviledge which fulian granted the Donatifts, publicis locis affigendum in ludibitum: vide Baron, in Anno 362. num. 264.

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CHAP. 12.

CHAP. 12.

The Lyer

I S one that makes a trade to tell falshoods with intent to deceive. He is either open or secret. A secret Lyer or Equivocatour is such a one, as by mentall reservations and other tricks deceives him to whom he speaks, being lawfully called to deliver all the truth: And sure speech being but a copy of the heart, it cannot be avouched for a true copy, that hath lesse in it then the originals. Hence it often comes to passe,

When Jesuites unto us answer Nay,

They do not English speak, t'is Greek they say.

Such an Equivocatour we leave, more needing a Book then Character to describe him. The open Lyer is first, either Mischievous, condemn'd by all; secondly, Officious, unlawfull also, because doing ill for good to come of it; thirdly, Jesting, when in sport and merriment. And though some count a Jesting lie to be like the dirt of oysters, which (they say) never stains, yet is it a sinne in earnest. What Policie is it for one to wound himself to tickle others, and to stab his own soul to make the standers by sport? We come to describe the Lyer.

Maxime 1 At first he tells a lie

At first he tells a lie with some shame and reluctancy. For then if he cuts off but a lap of Truths garment his heart smites him; but in processe of time he conquers his Conscience, and from quenching it there ariseth a smoak which soots and souls his soul, so that afterwards he lyes without any regret.

Having made one lye, he is fain to make more to maintain it. For an untruth wanting a firm foundation, needs many buttreffes. The honour and happinesse of the * Israelites, is the misery and mischief of lyes, Not one amongst them shall be barren, but miraculously procreative to beget others.

He hath a good memory which be badly abuseth. Memory in a Lyer

* Deut. 7.14.

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Lyer is no more then needs. For first, lies are hard to be remembred, because many, whereas truth is but one: secondly, because a lie cursorily told, takes little footing and settled fastnesse in the tellers memory, but prints it self deeper in the hearers, who take the greater notice, because of the improbability and deformity thereof; and one will remember the sight of a monster, longer then the sight of an handsome body. Hence comes it to passe, that when the Lyer hath forgotten himself, his Auditours put him in mind of the lye, and take him therein.

Sometimes though his memory cannot help him from being arrested for lying, his wit rescues him: which needs a long reach to bring all ends presently and probably together, gluing the splinters of his tales so cunningly that the cracks cannot be perceived. Thus a relique-monger bragg'd, he could shew a feather of the dove at Christs baptisme; but being to shew it to the people, a wag had stollen away the feather, and put a coal in the room of it. Well, quoth he to the Spectatours, I cannot be so good as my word for the present; but here is one of the coals * that broil'd S. Laurence, and that's worth the seeing.

Being challenged for telling a lye, no man is more furiously angry. Then he draws his sword and threatens, because he thinks that an offer of revenge, to shew himself moved at the accusation, doth in some sort discharge him of the imputation; as if the condemning of the sinne in appearance acquitted him in effect; or else because he that is call'd a Lyer to his sace, is also call'd a Coward in the same breath, if he swallows it; and the party charged doth conceive that if he vindicates his valour, his truth will be given him into the bargain.

At last he believes his own lies to be true. He hath told them over and over so often, that prescription makes a right, and he verily believes that at the first he gathered the story out of some authentical Authour, which onely grew in his own brain.

No man else believes him when he speakes the truth. How much gold soever he hath in his cheft, his word is but braffe,

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* Chemnitius in exam. cont. Trident. part. 4. pag. 12.

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brasse, and passeth for nothing: yea he is dumb in effect, for it is all one whether one cannot speak, or cannot be believed.

To conclude: Some of the west Indians to expiate their sinne of lying, use to let themselves bloud in their tongues, and to offer the bloud to their idols: A good cure for the squinancie, but no satisfaction for lying. Gods word hath taught us better, What profit is there in my bloud? The true repentance of the party wash'd in the bloud of Christ, can onely obtain pardon for this sinne.

CHAP. 13.

The common Barreter.

A Barreter is an horseleach that onely sucks the corrupted bloud of the Law. He trades onely in tricks and quirks: His highway is in by-paths, and he loveth a cavill better then an argument, an evasion then an answer. There be two kinds of them: either such as fight themselves, or are trumpeters in a battel to set on others. The former is a profest dueller in the Law, that will challenge any, and in all suite-combats be either principall or second.

References and compositions he hates as bad as an hangman hates a pardon. Had he been a Scholar, he would have maintained all paradoxes; if a Chirurgion, he would never have cured a wound, but alwayes kept it raw; if a Souldier, he would have been excellent at a siege, nothing but ejectio firma would out him.

He is half starv'd in the lent of a long vacation for want of imployment; save onely that then he brews work to broach in Term-time. I find one so much delighted in Law-sport, that when * Lewis the King of France offered to ease him of a number of suits, he earnestly belought his Highnesse to leave him some twenty or thirty behind, wherewith he might merrily passe away the time.

Maxime I

* Stephens
Apol. for Herodotus.

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The Degenerous Gentleman.

Ome will chalenge this title of incongruity, as if those I two words were so dissonant, that a whole sentence cannot hold them; for fure where the Gentleman is the root, Degenerous cannot be the fruit. But if any quarrell with my words, Valerius Maximus shall be my champion, who ftyfeth fuch * Nobilia Portenta. By Gentleman we underfland one whom the Heralds (except they will deny their best Records) must allow of ancient parentage. Such a one, when a child, being kept the devils Nazarite, that no razor of correction must come upon his head in his fathers family, fee what he proves in the processe of time, brought to extreme poverty. Herein we intend no invective glance on those pions Gentlemen, whose states are consumed through Gods secret judgement, and none of the owners visible default; onely we meddle with fuch, as by carelesnesse and riot cause their own ruine.

Maxime 1

* Valer. Max. lib. 3. cap. 5.

He goes to school to learn in jest, and play in earnest. Now this Gentleman, now that Gentlewoman beggs him a playday, and now the book must be thrown away, that he may see the buck hunted. He comes to school late, departs soon, and the whole yeare with him (like the fortnight when Christmas day falls on a tuesday) is all Holidayes and half-Holidayes. And as the Poets seigne of Thetis, that she drench'd Achilles her sonne in the Stygian waters, that he might not be wounded with any weapon; so cockering mothers inchant their sonnes to make them rod-free, which they do by making some golden circles in the hand of the Schoolmaster: thus these two conjoyning together, make the indentures to bind the youth to eternall ignorance; yet perchance he may get some almes of learning, here a snap, there a piece of knowledge, but nothing to purpose.

His fathers Servingmen (which he counts no mean preferment)

admit

admit him into their society. Going to a drinking match, they carry him with them to enter him, and applaud his hopefulnesse, finding him vicious beyond his age. The Butler makes him free (having first paid his fees accustomed) of his own fathers cellar, and guesseth the prosoundnesse of his young masters capacity, by the depth of the whole-ones he fetcheth off.

Coming to the University, his chief study is to study nothing. What is Learning but a cloakbag of books, cumbersome for a Gentleman to carry? and the Muses sit to make wives for Farmers sonnes: perchance his own Tutour, for the promise of the next living (which notwithstanding his promise he afterwards sells to another) contributes to his undoing, letting him live as he list: yea, perhaps his own mother (whilest his father diets him for his health with a moderate allowance) makes him surfet underhand, by sending him money. Thus whilest some complain that the University insected him, he insected the Universitie, from which he suck'd no milk, but poysoned her nipples.

At the Innes of Court under pretence to learn Law, he learns to be lawlesse; not knowing by his study so much as what an Execution means, till he learns it by his own dear experience. Here he grows acquainted with the Roaring Boyes, I am asraid so called by a wosfull Prolepsis, Here, for Hereaster. What formerly was counted the chief credit of an Oratour, these esteem the honour of a Sweater, Pronunciation, to mouth an oath with a gracelesse grace. These (as David saith) cloath themselves with curses as with a garment, and therefore desire to be in the latest fashion both in their cloaths and curses: These insufe all their skill into their young novice, who shortly proves such a proficient, that he exceeds his Masters in all kinds of vicious courses.

Through the mediation of a Scrivener, he grows acquainted with some great Usurer. Nor is this youngster so ravenous, as the other is ready to feed him with money, sometimes with a courteous violence forcing on him more then he desires, provided the security be good, except the Usurer be so valiant

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as to hazard the losing of a small hook to catch a great fish, and will adventure to trust him, if his estate in hope be over-measure, though he himself be under age. Now the greater part of the money he takes up is not for his own spending,

but to pay the shot of other mens riot.

After his fathers death he flies out more then ever before. Formerly he took care for means for his spending, now he takes care for spending for his means. His wealth is so deep a gulf, no riot can ever sound the bottome of it. To make his guests drunk is the onely seal of their welcome. His very meanest servant may be master of the cellar, and those who deserve no beere may command the best wine: such dancing by day, such masking by night, such roaring, such revelling, able to awake the sleeping ashes of his Greatgreat-grandsather, and to fright all blessing from his house.

Mean time the old soare of his London-debts corrupts and festers. He is carelesseto take out the dead sless, or to discharge either principall or interest. Such small leaks are not worth the stopping or searching for till they be greater; he should undervalue himself to pay a summe before it grew considerable for a man of his estate. Nor can he be more carelesse to pay, then the Usurer is willing to continue the debt, knowing that his bands, like infants, battle best with sleeping.

Vacation is his vocation, and he scorns to follow any professions, and will not be confined to any laudable employment. But they who count a calling a prison, shall at last make a prison their calling. He instills also his lazie principles into his children, being of the same opinion with the Neapolitane Gentry, who stand so on the puntoes of their honour, that they preferre robbery before industry, and will rather suffer their daughter to make merchandise of her chassity, then

marry the richest merchant.

Drinking is one of the principall Liberall Sciences he professet. A most ungentile quality, sit to be banished to rogues and rags. It was anciently counted a Dutch vice, and swarmed most in that countrey. I remember a sad accident which hapned to Fliolmus King of Gothland, who whilest a Lord

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* Sr. William Segar in his Honours milit. and civill.

of misrule ruled in his Court, and both he and his servants were drunk, in mere merriment, meaning no harm, they took the King, and put him in * jest into a great vessel of beere, and drowned him in earnest. But * one tells us that this ancient and habited vice is amongst the Dutch of late years much decreased: which if it be not, would it were. Sure our Mariners oblerve that as the lea grows dayly (hallower and shallower on the shoars of Holland and Zeland, so the channell of late waxeth deeper on the coasts of Kent and Essex. I pray God if drunkennesse ebbes in Dutchland, it doth not flow in England, and gain not in the Iland what it loseth in the Continent. Yea some plead, when overwhelm'd with liquour, that their thirst is but quenched: as well may they say, that in Noahs floud the dust was but

sufficienty allayed.

Gaming is another art he studies much: an enticing witch, that hath caused the ruine of many. * Hanniball said of Marcellus, that nec bonam nec malam fortunam ferre potest, he could be quiet neither conquerour nor conquered; thus fuch is the itch of play, that Gamesters neither winning nor losing can rest contented. One propounded this question, Whether men in ships on sea were to be accounted among the living or the dead, because there were but few inches betwixt them and drowning. The same scruple may be made of great Gamesters, though their estates be never so great, whether they are to be effeemed poore or rich, there being but a few casts at dice betwixt a Gentleman (in great game) and a begger. Our Gallant games deeply, and makes no doubt in conscience to adventure Advousands, Patronages, and Church-livings in gaming. He might call to mind S' Miles Pateridge, who (as the Souldiers cast lots for Christ his coat) plaid at dice for * Jesus bells with King Henry the eighth, and wonne them of him. Thus he brought the bells to ring in his pocket, but the ropes afterwards catch'd about his neck, and for some offenses he was hang'd in the dayes of King Edward the fixth.

Then first he sells the outworks of his state, some stragling mannour.

* Olaus mag. Hist. septent. pag. 531. * Versteg. re-stitut. of decaid intellig. pag. 53.

10 * Liv. lib.27.

* Thefe were foure bells the greatest in Loudon, hanging in a fair Tower in Pauls Churchyard, Stowes Servey of London, pag. 11

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nour. Nor is he sensible of this sale, which makes his means more entire, as counting the gathering of such scattering rents rather burdensome then profitable. This he sells at half the value, so that the feathers will buy the goose, and the wood will pay for the ground: with this money if he stops the hole to one Creditour, by his prodigality he presently opens a wider gappe to another.

By this time the long dormant Usurer ramps for the payment of his money. The principall, the grandmother; and the Use, the daughter, and the Use upon use, the grandchild; and perchance a generation farther, hath swell'd the debt to an incredible summe, for the satisfying whereof our Gallant sells the

moity of his estate.

Having fold half his land, he abates nothing of his expenses: but thinks five hundred pounds a yeare will be enough to maintain that, for which a thousand pound was too little. He will not stoop till he falls, nor lessen his kennell of dogs, till

with Acteon he be eaten up with his own hounds.

Being about to fink, he catcheth at every rush to save himself. Perchance sometimes he snatcheth at the thiftle of a project, which first pricks his hands, and then breaks. Herein it may be he adventured on a matter wherein he had no skill, himself (hoping by letting the Common-wealth bloud, to fill up his own veins again) and therefore trades with his partners brains, as his partner with his purse, till both miscarry together: or else it may be he catcheth hold on the heel of another man, who is in as dangerous a case as himfelf, and they embracing each other in mutuall bands, haften their drowning together. His last mannour he sells twice, to a countrey-Gentleman, and a London-usurer, though the last, as having the first title, prevails to possesse it : Usurers herein being like unto Foxes; they seldome take pains to digge any holes themselves, but earth in that which the foolish Badger made for them, and dwell in the mannours and fair houses which others have built and provided.

Having lost his own legs, he relyes on the staff of his kinred; first visiting them as an intermitting ague, but afterwards turns

a quotidian, wearing their thresholds as bare as his own coat. At last, he is as welcome as a storm, he that is abroad shelters himself from it, and he that is at home Thuts the doore. If he intrudes himself yet, some with their jeering tongues give him many a gird, but his brazen impudence seels nothing; and let him be aim'd on free-cost with the pot and the pipe, he will give them leave to shoot their flouts at him till they be weary. Sometimes he sadly paceth over the ground he sold, and is on fire with anger with himself for his folly, but presently quencheth it at the next alehouse.

Having undone himself, he sets up the trade to undo others. If he can but some himself into the acquaintance of a rich heir, he rejoyceth as much at the prize, as the Hollanders when they had intercepted the Plate-Fleet. He tutours this young Gamester in vice, leading him a more compendious way to his ruine, then possibly he could find out of himself. And doth not the guide deserve good wages for his direction?

Perhaps he behaves himself so basely that he is degraded; the sad and solemn Ceremonies whereof, we may meet with in old Presidents: but of them all, in my apprehension, none should make deeper impression in an ingenuous soul then this one, That at the solemn degradation of a Knight for high misdemeanour, the *King and twelve Knights more did put on mourning garments, as an embleme of sorrow for this injury to honour, that a man Gentile by birth and bloud, or honoured by a Princes savour, should so farre forget not onely himself, but his Order, as to deserve so severe punishment.

His death is as miserable, as his life hath been vicious. An Hospitall is the height he hopes to be advanced to: But commonly he dies not in so charitable a prison, but sings his last note in a cage. Nor is it impossible, but that wanting land of his own, he may incroch on the Kings high way; and there, taking himself to be Lord of the soyl, seise on Travellers as Strayes due unto him, and so the hangman give him a wreath more then he had in his Armes before. If he dyes at liberty in his pilgrimage betwixt the houses of his L13 acquaintance.

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* Markams Decads of Honour, pag. 76.

acquaintance, perhaps some well-disposed Gentleman may pay for his buriall, and truly mourn at the funerall of an an. cient Family. His children, if any, must seek their fortunes the farther off, because their father found his too soon, before he had wisdome to manage them. Within two generations his name is quite forgotten, that ever any such was in the place, except some Herald in his visitation passe by, and chance to spell his broken Arms in a Church-window. And then, how weak a thing is Gentry, then which (if it wants virtue) brittle glasse is the more lasting monument?

* Loco priùs citato

We forbear to give an instance of a dangerous Gentleman; would to God the world gave no examples of them. If any please to look into the forenamed * Valerius Maximus, he shall there find the base son of Scipio Africanus, the conquerour of Hannibal and Africk, so ill imitating his father, that for his viciousnesse he received many disgracefull repulses from the people of Rome, the fragrant smell of his Fathers memory making him to stink the more in their nostrils, yea they forced him to pluck off from his finger a fignet-ring, whereon the face of his Father was engraven, as counting him unworthy to wear his picture, who would not resemble his virtue.

CHAP. 15.

The Traytour.

Traitour * works by fraud, as a Rebel does by force, and in this respect is more dangerous, because there's lesse stock required to set him up : Rebellion must be managed with many fwords, Treason to his Princes person may be with one knife. Generally their successe is as bad as their cause, being either detected before, deseated in, or punished after their part acted; detected before, either by wilfulnesse or weaknesse of those which are privie to it.

A plotter of Treason puts his head into the halter, and the halter

into

* He is cither against the Sovereigne Per-fon alone, or against the State wherein be lives. We deal onely in describing the former, because to character the other, exact skil in the Municipal Laws of that State is required, wherein he is charged of treason. Maxime I

pitie (though a stranger to him for many years before) hath visited a Traitours heart in that very instant. If these fail, a Kings valour hath defended him; it being most true of a King, what Plinie reports of a * lion, in hunting if he be 1 Nat. hift. 16. 8.cap. 16. wounded and not killed, he will be fure to eye and kill him that wounded him.

Some by flourishing aforehand, have never stricken a blow : but by warning, have armed those to whom they threatned. Thus madde Somervile, coming to kill Queen Elizabeth. by the way (belike to trie whether his fword would cut) quarrelled with and wounded one or two, and therefore was

apprehended before he came to the Court.

The palfie of guiltinesse hath made the stoutest Traitours hands to shake, sometimes to misse their mark. Their conscience sleeping before, is then awakened with this crying sinne. The way feems but short to a Traveller, when he views it from the top of an hill, who finds it very long when he comes into the plain: so Treason surveyed in the heat of bloud, and from the height of passion, seems easie to be effected; which reviewed in cold bloud on even terms, is full of dangers and difficulties. If it speed in the acting, generally it's revenged afterwards: For,

A King though killed is not killed, so long as he hath sonne or subject surviving. Many who have thought they have discharged the debt, have been broken afterwards with the arrearages. As for journeymen-Traytours who work for others, their wages are ever paid them with an halter; and where one gaineth a garland of bayes, hundreds have had a wreath of

hemp.

CHAP. 16.

The Pazzians conspiracie.

Anno 1478. April 26. The fumme hereof is taken out of Machi-avels Florent. Hift. lib. 8.p. 407. 6 16quent.

I N the city of * Florence, being then a Popular State, the I honourable familie de-Medices managed all chief affairs, so beloved of the people for their bounty, that the honour they had was not extorted by their greatnesse, but seemed due to their goodnesse. These Mediceans, depressed the Pazzians, another familie in that State, as big set, though not so high grown, as the Medicei themselves, loading them with injuries, and debarring them not onely from Offices in the

city,

city, but their own right. The Pazzians, though highly wrong'd, counterfeited much patience, and, which was a wonder, though malice boyled hot in their hearts, yet no scumme ran over in their mouthes.

At last, meeting together, they concluded, that seeing the Legall way was stopp'd with violence, the violent way was become Legall, whereby they must right themselves; and they determined to invite Julian and Laurence Medices, the Governours of the State, to dinner, with Cardinall Raphael Riarius, and there to murther them. The matter was counted easie, because these two brethren were but one in effect, their heads in a manner standing on the same shoulders, because they alwayes went together, and were never afunder. Fifty were privy to this plot each had his office assigned him. Baptista Monteleccius was to kill Laurence, Francis Pazzius and Bernardus Bandinius were to set on Iulian, whilest the Archbishop of Pisa, one of their allies, was with a band of men to leife on the Senate-house, Cardinall Raphaels company rather then assistance was required, being neither to hunt, nor kill, but onely to fart the game, and by his presence to bring the two brothers to the dinner. All appointed the next morning to meet at Masse, in the chief Church of S. Reparata.

Here meeting together, all the designe was dash'd: for here they remembred that Julian de Medices never used to *dine. This they knew before, but considered not till now, as if formerly the vapours arising out of their ambitious hearts, had clouded their understanding. Some advised to referre it to another time, which others thought dangerous, conceiving they had sprung so many leaks of suspition, it was impossible to stop them; and feared, there being so many privie to the plot, that if they suffered them to consult with their pillows, their pillows would advise them to make much of their heads; wherefore not daring to stay the seasonable ripening of their designe, they were forced in heat of passion to parch it up presently, and they resolved to take the matter at the first bound, and to commit the murther

*Machiav. disput. de Repub. lib.z.cap. 6. pag. 397.

(they

(they intended at dinner) here in the Church, taking it for granted, the two Mediceans would come to Masse, accor-

ding to their dayly custome.

But changing their stage, they were fain also to alter their Actours. Monteseccius would not be employed in the businesse, to stain a sacred place with bloud; and breaking of this string put their plot quite out of tune. And though Anthony Volateran and Stephen a Priest were substituted in his room, yet these two made not one fit person; so great is the difference betwixt a choice and a shift. When the Host was elevated, they were to assault them; and the Sacrament was a signe to them, not of Christs death past, but of a murther they were to commit.

But here again they were at a losse. Treason, like Pope Adrian, may be choak'd with a flie, and marr'd with the least unexpected casualtie. Though Laurence was at Church, Julian was absent. And yet by beating about, they recover'd this again: for Francis Pazzius and Bernard Bandinius going home to his house, with complements and courteous discourse brought him to the Church. Then Bandinius with a dagger stabb'd him to the heart, so that he fell down dead, and Francis Pazzius insulting over his corps (now no object of valour but cruelty) gave it many wounds, till blinded with revenge, he strook a deep gash into his own thigh.

But what was over-measure in them, in overacting their parts, was wanting in Anthony and Stephen, who were to kill Laurence in the Quire. You* Traitour, said Anthony, and with that Laurence starting back avoided the strength of the blow, and was wounded onely to honour, not danger, and so recovered a strong chappell. Thus Malice, which vents it self in threatning, warns men to shun it, and like hollow singing bullets, slies but halfway to the mark. With as bad successed did the Archbishop of Pisa seise on the Senate-house, being conquered by the Lords therein assembled, and, with many of his Complices, hung out of a window.

The Pazzians now betake themselves to their last resuge which their desperate courses had lest them. James the chief

* Machiav. disp.de Repub. lib. 3. cap. 6. pag. 399. or

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of their family with one hundred more repair to the marketplace, and there crie, Liberty, Liberty. A few followed them at first, but the snow-ball by rolling did rather melt then gather, and those, who before had seen the foul face of their treason naked, would not be allured to love it now masked with the pretences of the publick good; and at last, the whole strength of the State subdued them.

Every tree about the city bare the fruit of mens heads, and limbes: many were put to death with torment, more with shame, and onely one Renatus Pazzius with pity, who loved his conscience better then his kinred, that he would not be active in the conspiracy; and yet his kinred better then his conscience, that he would not reveal it; Treason being like some kind of strong poyson, which though never taken inwardly by cordiall consenting unto it, yet kill's by being held in ones hand, and concealing it.

Снар. 17.

The Tyrant.

A Tyrant * is one whose list is his law, making his subjects his slaves. Yet this is but a tottering Kingdome which is founded on trembling people, which fear and hate their Sovereigne.

He gets all places of advantage into his own hands: yea he would disarm his subjects of all sythes and pruning hooks, but for fear of a generall rebellion of weeds and thistles in the land.

He takes the Laws at the first, rather by undermining then assault: And therefore to do unjustly with the more justice, he counterfeits a legality in all his proceedings, and will not butcher a man without a Stature for it.

Afterwards he rageth freely in innocent bloud. Is any man vertuous? then he is a Traytour, and let him die for it, who durst presume to be good when his Prince is bad. Is he beloved?

*He is two.fold.

1. In Titulo, properly an Uniurper.

2. Iu Exercitio, whom we onely describe.

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loved? he is a rebell, hath proclaimed himself King, and reignes already in peoples affections, it must cost him his life. Is he of kinne to the Crown, though so farre off that his alliance is scarce to be derived? all the veins of his body must be dreined, and emptyed to find there, and fetch thence that dangerous drop of royall bloud. And thus having taken the prime men away, the rest are easily subdued. In all these particulars Machiavell is his onely Counsellour; who in his Prince, seems to him to resolve all these cases of conscience to be very lawfull.

Worst men are his greatest favourites. He keeps a constant kennel of bloud-hounds to accuse whom he pleaseth. These will depose more then any can suppose, not sticking to swear that they heard fishes speak, and saw through a mil-stone at midnight: these fear not to forswear, but sear they shall not forswear enough, to cleave the pinne and do the deed. The lesse credit they have, the more they are believed, and their

very accusation is held a proof.

He leaves nothing that his poore subjects cancall their own, but their miseries. And as in the West-Indies, thousands of kine are killed for their tallow alone, and their sless cast away: so many men are murdered merely for their wealth, that other men may make mummey of the fat of their estates.

He counts men in miserie the most melodious instruments: Especially if they be well tuned and play'd upon by cunning Musicians, who are artificiall in tormenting them, the more the merrier; and if he hath a set, and sull consort of such tortur'd miserable souls, he danceth most cheerfully at the pleasant ditie of their dying grones. He loves not to be prodigall of mens lives, but thristily improves the objects of his cruelty, spending them by degrees, and epicurizing on their pain: So that as Philoxenus wished a cranes throat, he could desire assesses, the longer to entertain their hydeous and miserable roaring. Thus Nature had not racks enough for men (the Colick, Gout, Stone,&c.) but Art must adde to them, and devils in sless antedate hell here in inventing torments; which when instituted on malesactours, extort pitie from mercifull

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forme good acts, but virtue becomes him worse then vice, for all know he counterfeits it for his own ends.

Having lived in other mens bloud, he dies commonly in his own. He had his will all his life, but seldome makes his Testament at his death, being suddenly taken away either by private hand, or publick insurrection. It is observed of the camell that it lies quietly down till it hath its sull load, and then riseth up. But this Vulgus is a kind of a beast, which riseth up soonest when it is overladen; immoderate cruelty causing it to rebell. Fero is a fitter motto then Ferio for Christians in their carriage towards lawfull Authoritie, though unlawfully used.

We will give a double example of a Tyrant: the one an absolute Sovereigne, the other a Substitute or Vice-roy under

an absolute Prince.

CHAP. 18.

The life of Andronicus.

Or the unfortunate Polititian.

An. Dom. 1179.

Lexius Comnenus, onely Son of Manuel Comnenus fucceeded his Father in the Empire of Constantinople. A child he was in Age and Judgement: of wit, too short to measure an honourable sport, but lost himself in low delights. He hated a book, more then a monster did a looking glasse, and when his Tutour endeavoured to play him into Scollership, by presenting pleasant Authours unto him, he returned, that learning was beneath the Greatnesse of a Prince, who, if wanting it, might borrow it from his subjects, being better stor'd; for (saith he) if they will not lend me their brains, I le take away their heads. Yea he allowed no other librarie, then a sull stor'd Cellar, resembling the Buts to Folioes, Barrells, to Quartoes, smaller Runlets, to lesse Volumns, and studied away his time, with base Company, in such debauchednesse.

2. Leave

2. Leave we Alexius drowning his Care, or rather carelesses in wine, to behold Zene his mother the Regent Empresse, Surfeting also in pleasure with her husband Proto-Sebastus, who had married her, since the decease of Manuell her
late husband. This Proto-Sebastus a better Stallion, then
warre-horse, was a persect Epicure, (so that Apitius, in comparison of him, was a Churle to starve himself, better at
his palat, then his tongue, yet better at his tongue, then his
Armes, being a notorious Coward. He with the Empresse,
conspired to the dissolute education of young Alexius, keeping him in constant ignorance of himself, their strength
consisting in his weaknesse, who, had he been bred to understand his own power, might probably have curb'd their
exorbitances.

3. The Body of the Grecian State, at this time, must needs be strangely distempered, under such heads. Preferment was onely scattered amongst Parasites, for them to scramble for it. The Court had as many Factions, as Lords, save that all their divisions united themselves in a generall vitiousnesse; and that Theodorus the Patriarch, was scoffed at by all as an Antick for using Goodnesse, when it was out of sashion and was adjudged impudent, for presuming to be

pious alone by himself.

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4. As for the City of Constantinople, the chief seat of the Grecian Empire; she had enjoyed happinesse so long, that now she pleaded Prescription for prosperity. Because living in Peace Time out of mind, she conceived it, rather a wrong, to have constant Quiet denied, then a favour, from Heaven to have it continued unto her. Indeed, She was grown sick, of a surfet of health, and afterwards was broken, with having too much riches. For in steed of honest industry, and painfull thrist, which first caused the greatnesse of this City: now slowing with wealth, there was nothing therein, but the swelling of Pride, the boiling of lust, the fretting of Envie, and the squeezing of Oppression. So that should their dead Auncestours arise, they would be puzzl'd to see Constantinople for it self, except they were directed thereunto,

An. Dom-

An. Dom.

by the Ruines of St. Sophies Temple. True it was some years since, upon a great samine, some hopes were given of a generall amendment. During which time, Riot began to grow thristy, pride to go plain, Gluttons to fast, and wantons were stery dinto Temperance. But forced Reformation will last no longer, then the violent cause thereof doth continue. For soon after, when plenty was again restored, they relapsed to their former badnesse, yea afterwards became souler for the Purge, and more wanton for the Rod, when it was Removed.

5. Now there was an Antifaction in the Grecian Empire, maintained by some Lords of ancient Extraction, who were highly offended at the great power which Proto-Sebastus, and L. Xene the Empresse usurped to themselves; and meeting privatly together, Andronicus Lapardas as prolocutor for the rest, vented his discontentment, complaining, it was more then high time, that they now awake out of the lethargy of security, into which, by fooles lullabyes, they had cousened themselves. That they in the empire, which have most at the Stake, are made onely lookers on; sometimes admitted to the Counsell, out of Complement, and for Countenance barely to concur; but for the main kept in Ignorance of most materiall passages. That their names are all branded for death, and that no love to their persons, but fear what might follow, had hitherto secured their lives. In a word; that they must speedily resolve on some projects for their protection, or elfe they should approve themselves heirs to Epimetheus, who is not found to have left any Land unto his Sonnes, but onely to have bequeathed an uselesse forrow unto them, for their portion.

6. Hereupon they entred into a strict Combination with themselves secretly, vowing that they would improve their utmost might to bring in Andronicus Comnenus, a Prince of the bloud, one of great parts and abilities, (but lately banished out of the Empire) to counterpoise the power of Proto-Sebastus, and to free young Alexius from the wardship of such as abused him. We will present the Reader with a list

of their Titles and offices, who were engaged in this designe; intreating him not to be offended with us, because of the hardnesse and length of their Names; but rather with their God-sathers who Christened them. We have an English Proverb that bones bring meat to Town, and those who are desirous to feast themselves on the pleasant and profitable passages of Historie, must be content some time to stoop their stomacks to feed on hard words, which bring matter along with them.

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7. First, Maria Prophyrogenita Casarissa daughter to Manuel the late Emperour, by a former wife, half sister to Alexius the young Emperour.

2. Cæsar her husband, and Italian Lord, who was so overtopt with the high birth, and spirit of his wise, that in this Historie we find him not grown much above the bare mention of his Name.

3. Conto-Stephanus, the Great Duke, Admirall of the Galleys.

4. Camaterus Basilius President of the City.

5. Hagiochristophorites Stephanus, Captain of the Guard.

6. Dispatus Georgius Lecturer in the great Church, (an higher office, then the modern acceptation of the word doth imply.)

7. Tripsycus Constantinus one of the most noble extractions.

8. Macroducas Constantinus, no whit inferiour to him in pedegree, or power.

9. Andronicus Lapardas, formerly mentioned, together with the aforesaid.

10. Theodorus, the Patriark, last named, because least interessed. For in matters of piety, he was governed by his conscience, but in matters of policy, by good Company, being therein himself utterly unskilled: and strangers in unknown waies commonly follow the most beaten Tract of others before them. All these joyn'd in a league to bring Andronicus home to Constantinople, who, what he was, and how qualified, we will not forestall the Reader, conceiving it, though some

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thing painfull, yet more healthfull for him to gain his Character by degrees in the Sequell of his Actions, Wherein he will sufficiently discover himself, without

our description of him.

8. Now Maria Casarissa was employed unto Andronicus (having ability in her self, and advantage by her Sex for the cunning carriage of the matter) to acquaint him with their designes. She coming to Oenæum, where he liv'd in Banishment, informed of the generall discontent in the Grecian Empire: And how those which basely served Zene, did onely command in the State. That besides those great persons, (whose names she presented in writing) many others (as yet scrupulous Newters) would have their doubts fully satisfied, and declare on his fide when they faw him appear with a powerfull Army. That it would be a meritorious work to enfranchife his Kinsman Alexius from their slavery, where under he, and the Grecian Empire did groan.

9. Welcom was that invitation to Andronicus, to be requested to do, what of himself he desired. How willingly doth the fire flie upwards, especially when employed to fill up a vacuity; because then doing three good Offices, with one motion; Namely, expressing its Dutifullnesse to the Dictates of Dame Nature; and contributing in case of Necessity, to the Preservation of the Universe; and pleasing its own peculiar Tendency, which delights in alcending: Such now the Condition of Andronicus, who in this undertaking, would show courteous in granting the Request of his friends, appear pious in promoting the generall good, and withall satisfie the Appetite of his own Ambition and Revenge. Wherefore with treasure, whereof he had plenty, he provided men and Armes, and prepared with all speed for

the Expedition.

10. But he could not be more bufie about his Warre then Xene was imployed about her wantonnesse, counting in life all spilt, that was not sport, who to revenge her self on envious death, meant in mirth to make her self Reparation, for the shortnesse of her life. That time, which flyeth of it self,

the fought to drive away with unlawfull Recreations. And though Musick did jarre, and mirth was prophanenesse, at this present time, wherein all did feel what was bad, and fear what was worse, yet she by wanton Songs (Panders to Lust) and other provocatives, did awaken the sleepie sparkes of her Corruption, into a flame of open wickednesse.

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11. But it was a great and sudden abatement to her jollity to hear that Andronicus, with a puissant Armie, was approaching the City. Alexius Proto-Sebastus, her minion, did woe all people to make resistance. But he found abundance of Neuters, (of that luke-warm temper) which Heaven and Hell doth hate,) who would not out of their Houses, but stay at * home and side with neither party, these did maintain that the is underi publick Good was nothing but the refult of many mens particular good, and therefore held, that in faving their own they advanced the generall Indeed they hop'd, though the great vessell of the State was wrackt, in a private fly-boat of Neutrality, to wast their own Adventure safe to the Shore. But who ever saw dauncers on rops, so equally to poile themselves, but at last they fell down and brake their Necks? And we will take the Boldnesse to point at these hereafter, and to shew what was their successe.

* ¿ 7 O IX8 , sof Renvovous क्लाने हे जिल्हा TOOD LLEPOND.

12. The best thing which befriended Proto-Sebastus (next to his own Money) was the obliging disposition of Zene. She had as many Nets as gestures to catch affections in, and with her Smiles, did not onely presse, but pay all Carpet Knights, and amourous Persons to be of her partie. The City of Constantinople was thrice walled, with wood, stones, and bones, plenty of Shipping, artificiall Fortifications, and multitudes of men. The worst, was their Arsenall was a goodly Stable of gallant wooden Horses, but they wanted Riders to manage them, The Grecians (at this time) being very fimple Seamen; though nature may feem both to woe and teach them to be skilfull Mariners, by affording them plenty of safe Harbours. However the Grecians conceiving Navigation beneath their honour (which indeed was above their Industry, refigned the benefit of Trading in their own Seas to the

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the Italians of Pisa, Genoa, Florence, and Venice, Proto-Sebastus hired Mercenary Marriners of these, and with them man'd his Ships, stopping the passages of Propontis, by which Andronis cus coming from Paphlagonia, out of the lesser Asia, was to passe.

13. But now an Admirall was to be provided for his Navie: Conto-Stephanus the great Duke, formerly mentioned, challenged the place as proper to himself, scorning to be made a Stale to wear the Style in Peace, and not to execute the Office in warre, when occasion was offered to shew his valour, and serve his Countrie. What should Proto-Sebastus do? it is equally dangerous to offend, or imploy him. Yet he resolves on the latter, not willing to teach him, to be dishonest by suspecting him, conceiving it to be an engagement, on a Noble Nature to be trufty, because he was trust. ed. But he no looner received the Charge, but betrayed the Galleyes to Andronicus, whereby in an instant he was made Master of all those Seas. The news whereof being brought to the City, what riding, what runing, what packing, what posting! happy he that could trip up his Neighbours heeles, to get first into the favour of Andronicus, Many that stak't their wives and children at home in the city, had laid good Betts abroad on the opposite party.

14. Andronicus being easily wasted over, comes to the Gates of Constantinople. Here to oppose him, there was rather a skirmish then a fight, or rather a flourish then a skirmish, the land forces consisting of two Sorts. First old Souldiers, who formerly having been notorious Plunderers, had their Armes so pressed down, with the weight of the peoples just Curses, that they could not lift up their Swords to any purpose, but having formerly preyed on their Friends, were made a prey to their Foes: Secondly, Citizens, used onely to traverse their Shops, and unacquainted with military performances. The city once entred, was instantly conquered, (whose strength was much oversam'd) such populous places, like unweildy bodies, sink with their own

weight.

dayes and nights was taken Prisoner, and was kept some dayes and nights waking, being pinch'd, when once offering to shut his eyes. A torment which we meet not with to be used to so high a person, though (they say) of late in Fashion, for the discovery of Witches.

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But to put him out of his pain, Andronicus is conceived by some, mercifull unto him, in causing his eyes to be bored out, seeing it was lesse torture not to see, then not to sleep; So much for this great Coward, though this his Character, cannot be guessed from his Demeanour herein, seeing a better Souldier might have been worsted in this Expedition against Forces, of open Foes, and fraud of seeming friends, it being impossible to make them fight, who are resolv'd to slie.

- must of Course commit, but those, neither for Number or Nature, such as might have been expected: For when a place is taken by assault, the most strict Commanders are not able to keep the mouthes of their Souldiers Swords fasting, but may be commended for moderate, if they feed not to a Surfet. Besides, such was the infinite wealth of Constantinople, her treasures would tempt the singers of Saints, much more of Souldiers; the Paphlagonians, (whereof the Army consisted,) vowed, that seeing their Swords had done so good service, they would make bilts of Gold, for their Blades of Steel.
- 17. There was then inhabiting in the City of Constantinople, multitudes of Frankes (understand French, Germanes, and principally Italians,) so that well might this City be called new Rome, from the aboundance of Latins that lived therein, These first by Manusactures, and then by Merchandize, got great wealth, (their diligence being more, and Luxury lesse then the Greeks,) insomuch that they ingrossed all Trading to themselves. This attracted the Envir of the Natives, that Strangers should suck the Marrow of the State, alledging, that in processe of time, the Ivie would grow to be an Oake, and those prove absolute in their own power, which, at

first, were dependent for their Protection. Andronicus with something more then a bare Connivance, though lesse then a full Command, freely consigned these Frankes over to the

Rapine of his Army.

18. Such of them as related, by former Friendship or Al. liance to the Grecians, fled to them for shelter, who, instead of preserving, persecuted them, their Company being conceived Infectious, least it should bring the Plague of the Souldiers fury along with it. And who finds a faithfull friend in Misery? All their goods were spoil'd, and most of their lives spill'd, save such as formerly had escaped by flight to their ships. Thus Andronicus found a cheap way, both to pay his Souldiers, and please the people, who counted him an excellent Physitian of the State, and this a great cure done by him, in purging the luperfluous, yea noxious Aliens out of the City. Indeed carefull he was to preserve the City it self from spoyling, as having then a squint eye at the Empire; and knowing Constantinople, to be the Seat thereof, he would not deface that fair Chair, into which, in due time he hop'd himself to sit down.

An. Dom. 1180.

A Ndronicus being thus peaceably posses do for Constantinople, first made his humble addresse to the young Emperour Alexius, and ceremoniously kissed his feet. The Spectatours variously commented on his prodigious humility therein Some conceiving he meant to build high, because he began so low; others thinking that their Toes had need

beware the cramp whole feet he killed.

2. The next Stage, whereon his Hypocrific acted, was the great Church it felf, where, meeting Theodorus the Patriark at the doore, he encountred him with transcendent Courtship, protesting, that in him, he beheld the pattern of St. Chryso-stome, his famous Predecessour, it being questionable, whether that worthy Father, did more truly survive, in the learned Books, he lest to posterity, or in the looks and life of Theodorus. And whilest the Patriark was meditating a modest Reply, Andronicus did power Complements, so full and fast upon

upon him, that stifled therewith, he could breath no Answer in return, but onely fell into a swound of amazement.

An. Dom. 1180.

3. Hence, he advanced into the Quire, unto the monument of Manuel his Kinsman, and late Emperour. At fight whereof, the tears trickled down his reverent Cheekes, as if they had run a race, which of them should be the foremost: some interpreted this, the love which Andronicus abore to the memory of the dead Emperour, and others feared, that as the moist dropping of stones is the fore-runner of foul weather, so this relenting of his hard heart, presaged some storm to follow after, in the State. Then coming to Manuels Tombe, ordering his voice so low, as seeming he might not be, and yet so loud, as certain he was heard, what he spake, he expressed himself to this effect.

4. Dear Manuel, my loyaltie stiles thee Soveraign, but my blood calls thee cozen. I will not say it was thy fault, but my Fate, not to have my love to thee understood, according to the integrity of my intentions. My Innocence, by thee, was banished into a farre Countrey. The Burthen did non grieve mee, but the band that laid it on ; not fo much to be an Exile, as an Exile made by thee. However, all my revenge unto thee, shall be in advancing the honour and safety of thy fon Alexius, to free, whose Innocence, from the abuse of his friendpretended-enemies, I have embarked my felf, in a dangerous and desperate design: Yea my manifold infirmities (of which I am most Conscious grieve me not so much, in my own behalf, as because thereby I am rendred difable, from being serviceable to your son, in so high a degree as I defire.

5. Then finking his voyce, past possibility of being overheard, he continued. Base bloudy, hound, which chasest me from place to place. I here arrest thy drow sie Ashes, it being now past thy power to break this marble Chest. I scorn to ungrave thy dust, (wishing that all my Enemies were as Sumptuously entombed,) but thy Sonne, Wife, Daughter, Favourites, Eriends, Name, Memory, I will utterly destroy. The Poets Phansie begat three Furies in Hell, and I

will be the fourth on Earth.

6. Some will demand, how we came to the knowledge of this Speech, being so secretly delivered? It is answered it An.Dom.
1179.

* Nicetas Coniates in vita Alexii numero, 16. is impossible, some invisible eare might lie in ambush within the Eare-reach of his words. Besides, let me not be challenged for a libell, who can produce the party from whom I received it; and amongst others, discharge my self on one principall *Authour of Excellent credit. Though I believe that this Speech was never taken from the Originall of Andronicus his mouth, but was translated from the black Coppie of his wicked actions, which afterward he committed.

7. His devotions ended, he retired to his own house, and there lived very privately, as renouncing all worldly Pompe and Pleasure, whilst his Engineers, under-hand, were very active to procure the Empire for him, which was thus contrived: A Petition was drawn, in the name of all the people, requesting Andronicus, that he would be pleased, for the good of the State, to be chosen joynt Emperour with Alexius. This was subscribed by the principall men in every place; and then Herds of filly Souls did the like. They never consulted with the Contents of the paper, whether it was Bond, Bill, Libell, or Petition. But thought it a sinne, not to score their marks, where they were told, their betters had gone before them. At first they wanted names for their Parchment, but afterward, Parchment for their names. Here it would be tedious to recount, what sleights and forgeries were used herein. If any delayed to subscribe, they were presently urged with great mens Presidents; that it was Superstition, to be more holy then the Bishops: Rigour, to be more just then the Judges: Malepartnesse, to pretend to more wisdome then so many States-men, who had already figned it. And thus, many fearfull Souls were compell'd to consent, by the Tyranny of others Examples. Indeed some few there were, which durst be honest, whose Souls did stand on a Basis of their own judgements, without leaning, with implicite faith, on others. These disavowed this State-Bigamie, protesting against the Co-Empireship of Andronicus, And boldly affirming, that Crowns take a Master if they accept a Mate. But then all their Names, were returned unto Andronicus, who registred them in his black Kallender, who,

who, for the present, did remember, and for the future An. Dom. would requite them.

1180.

The principall Agent, that openly promoted this Businesse, was Basilius, a Bishop, one that professed Heaven, and practifed Earth, much medling in Temporall matters, being both lewd and lazie in his own profession: onely herein he had the character of a good Churchman, that by his preaching

and living he fet forth his office accordingly.

9. And now the Scene being covertly laid, in a Solemne Assembly, on a high Festivall, this Bishop, as the mouth of the rest, (whose names he held in a Parchment Roll) represented to Andronicus the sincere intentions, and earnest wishes of the State. Most humbly requesting him, that he would be pleased so farre to ease the tender years of his dear Kinsman, young Alexius, as to bear half the burthen of the Crown, and to accept to be joynt-Emperour with him: Presuming, that such was the Goodnesse and Humility of Andronicus, that he would not disdain a part, though he did deserve the Whole. And after a long Oration concluded. Thus anciently the Roman Senate coupled old delaying Fabius, with over hasty Marcellus, blending Youth with Age, the swift with Slow: Wholfome mixture, when the one brought Eyes, the other Hands , the one was for Advice, the other for Action. And thus alone it is possible that the distempered State of the Grecian Empire at this present, can be cured with this Cordiall, and sacred Composition, of the Gravity of your Highnesse, to temper the green years of Alexius.

10. Hereat Andronicus discovered a strangnesse in his looks, as if he had needed an Interpreter to understand the Language which was spoken unto him; and after some Pause proceeded. Let me not be censured for unmannerly in not returning my thanks, having my foul for the present possest with an higher employment of Admiration, That so many Aged States-men, as rich in wisdome, as years, should be so much mistaken in mine Abilities, as to conceive me in any degree fit for the Moity of a Crown. Go chuse some Gallant, whose very flesh is steel, can march all day, and watch all night, whose vast Atchievements may adde Honour unto your Empire. Alas! my pale face, lean Cheeks, dimme eyes, faint

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heart, weak leggs, speak me fit for no Crown, but a Coffin, no Royall Robes, but a winding sheet. Nor am I ashamed to confesse that my youth hath been exceeding vitious, wherein I spared the Devil the pains of courting me, by preferring my self to bis service; And now it is my onely joy, with grief to recollect my former wickednesse. Of late I have found out a small private place, (call it, as you please, least of Cells, or greatest of Graves,) wherein I intend wholly to devote the Remnant of my life to Meditation of Mortallity. For seeing naturally our selves are too deeply rooted in Earthlinesse, it is good to loosen them a little before, that so by Death, they may be pluckt up with the more Easinesse: Not that wilfully, either out of Lazinesse, or Sullemesse, I decline to serve my Countrey, which claims a Share in me. But though I know I am not to live for my self, I am to die to my self, and may now at this Age, justly Challenge to my self a Writt of case, from all worldly imployment.

11. But Basilius perceiving that he did but Complement a denyall, pressed him with the greater importunity: Confessing it would torment the modesty of his Highnesse to be told how high the Audit of his virtues did amount, knowing that he desired rather to deserve then hear his own commendations. But withall instantly intreated him to remember (what he full well understood) that the Intreaties of a whole State, had the power of Commands; and that Heaven it self was not so impregnable, but that it might be battered open, by the importunity of poore Petitioners, That from his acceptance of this their humble Prosser, they should hereaster date the beginning of their Happinesse. That this day should stand in the Front of their Almanacks and in Scarlet Text, as a leader, command over the rest, which follows

ed it, as the new Birth Day of the Grecian Empire.

12. However at that present nothing more was effected, and because it was late, the Assembly was dismissed, onely some principal Persons were appointed with their private perswassons, to mollifie the stiffenesse of Andronicus, who prevailed so farre, that meeting next morning in the sull concourse of all Sorts of People, Andronicus, first loosned the Vizard of his dissimulation for a time, letting it fairly hang by,

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ny he at last it fell off of it's own accord, and thankfully accepted their Shouts, and Exclamations, with GOD SAVE ALE-XIUS AND ANDRONICUS JOINT EMPEROURS OF GREECE.

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13. Then mounted on a high Tribunall, he made an eloquent Oration, as indeed he was not onely sweet, but lushious in his Language, and with the Circles of fine Parases, could charm any Stranger, both into love, and admiration of his person; smiling, with a pleasant Countenance, he told them, that he conceived his own Condition was represented in the Eagle, displayed in the Imperiall Standard: For as Naturalists report, that Soveraign of birds, renews his Age; so he seemed to himself grown young again: as if the Heavens had bestown upon him, new Shoulders for new burdens. And seeing it was their pleasure, to elect him to the place, he promised to rescue Right out of the Paws of Oppression, to be the onely Master of requests: so that all complaints, should have free Accesse to him, and, if just, Redresse from him. But especially he would be Carefull of his own Conversati. on, intending, (Grace assisting him) to have a Law in his own example. In a word, his speech was all excellent good in it felf, fave for this onely fault, that not one fyllable thereof, was either truly intended or really performed.

14. The Solemnities of his Coronation were performed in great State, with much Pompe and Expence; And we may observe, that the Coronations of usurpers, are generally more gorgious in their Celebrations, then those of lawfull Princes. For usurpers, out of excessive joy of what they have undeservedly gotten, care not what Cost they lavish, Besides, Ceremonies are more substantiall to them, to tell the world what they are, who otherwise would take lesse notice of them, as not intituled by any right to the place they possess. Whereas Kings, on whose Heads Crowns are dropt from Heaven, by lineall descent, often save superstuous Charges, at their Coronation, as being but a bare Ceremony, deriving or adding no right unto them, but onely clearing and decla-

ring the same to others.

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15. The noise of the peoples Shouts, did allarm young Alexius, which hitherto was fast sleeping in some obscure Corner, and little dreamt, that mean while, an Empire was stollen away from him. But now coming to Andronicus, he publickly congratulated his happinesse, and with a smiling countenance, embraced him as hartily glad, that he had gotten so good a companion in so great an employment. We read, that in the Countrey of Lituania, there is a peculiar Custome that married men have Adjutores Tori, Helpers of the marriage bed, which, by their consent, lie with their wives; and these husbands are so farre from conceiving either Hatred or Jealousie against them, that they esteem them their principall friends. Surely the Beds in that Countrey, are bigger then in other places : seeing amongst all other Nations, a wife is a Vessell, wherein the Cape-Merchant will not admit any Adventurers to share with him. It seemes, Alexius was one of this Lituanian Temper, that could accept a Partner in his Empire, tickled with joy at the shewes and Solemnities of his Coronation: And well might he laugh till his heart did ake, though some did verily think, that amongst all the Pageants there presented, he himself was the strangest, and most ridiculous spectacle. As for Xene the Empresse, The appeared not at all in publick, being pensive at home, having almost wept out her own Eyes because Proto-Sebastus had his bored out.

16. Next every day in all Pattents and publick Receipts, their Names were transposed. First, Andronicus, and then Alexius, this reason being rendred, that it was unfitting that a youth should be preferred before so grave, and Reverent an old man. Or rather, because, as in Numeration, the Figure is to be put before the Cypher. Here some of the friends of Alexius propounded, to stop the ambition of Andronicus, before the Gangrene thereof spread surther; seeing what he received, did not satisfie, but enlarge his proud breast, prompting new thoughts unto him, and widening his heart for higher desires. The motion found many to praise, but not to practice it; none would do, what all desi-

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red were done. The younger fort conceived, that this office, An. Dom. because dangerous, was most proper for old men to undertake, who need not to be thrifty of their lives, seeing it was too late to spare at the Bottom. Old men were of the opinion it best beseemed the Boldnesse and Activity of youth: and fuch as were of middle Age, did partake of the Excuses of both. Thus in a Project that is apparently desperate, even those who are proudest on their terms of Honour will be so humble, as in modesty to let meaner men go before them,

17. As for the Lords of the Combination, (who first procured Andronicus his coming to Constantinople,) they found themselves, that they now had farre over-shot the Mark they aimed at. For they intended onely to use him for the prefent, to humble and abate the Pride, and power of Proto-Sebastus. Which done, they meant, either wholly to remove, or warily to confine him. But now what they chose for Physick must be given them for daily food : and wofull is the condition of that man, who, in case of necessity, taking hot water to prevent Swooning, must ever after drink it for Beverage, even to the burning out of his Bowells. For Air dronicus though he came in as a Tenant at will, would hold his place in Fee to himself and his Heires. And whereas the aforelaid Lords promised themselves, if not Advancement to new Assurance to their old Offices; they found themselves preferr'd to nothing but neglect and contempt: neither intrusted in the Advice, nor imployed in the Execution of any matters of Moment.

18. Indeed Andronicus did loath the fight of those Lords, as Debters do of Bailiffes, as if their very looks did arrest him to pay for those Grand favours which he had formerly received from them, brought by their help from banishment, to power and wealth in the Citty. Nor would he make use of them, as too sturdy to be pliable to his Projects; standing on their former deserts and present Dignities; but employed those Ofiers of his own planting, which might be easily wreathed to all purposes, being base up-starts, depending on his absolute Pleasure. And as he used these alone, so these

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onely in matter of Execution: who taking himself, and therein not mistaken) to be sole friend to himself, would not impart his Counsells to any one, being wont to say, that Ships

fink as deep with one as with one hundred Leaks.

19. Wee will conclude this Book with an Independent story, hoping the Reader will take it as we find it. There was a noted Beggar in Constantinople, well known to the people thereabouts, (as who had almost worn the Tresholds of Noble mens doores, as bare as his own clothes) an exceeding tall, raw-bon'd body, with a meagre and lank Belly, so that he might have passed for Famine it self. This man was found begging about the lodgings of Andronicus, very late at night, at an unseasonable hour, except one would fay, that men of his profession, as they are never out of their way, so they are never out of their time, but may seasonably beg at any hour, when they are hungry. Being apprehended at the Guard, and accused for a Conjurer, (his ugly face being all the Evidence against him,) Andronicus delivered him o. ver to the indifcreet discretion of the People, to do with him as they pleased. These wild Justicers, without legall proof, or further proceeding, for Almes, bestowed on him a Pile of Wood and a great fire, where they burnt him to Ashes, whose fact might justly have intitled him to a whipping Post, but not to a Stake.

Death of a Beggar in the life of an Emperour. For all Innocents are equall in the Court of Heaven; And this poore man, who whilft alive, was so loud at great Mens doores, for meat to preserve his life, his bloud may be presumed to be as crying and clamorous at the gates of Heaven to revenge his death. For herein Andronicus taught the People to be Tyrannicall, a needlesse Lesson to such apt Schollers, who afterwards proved Proficients herein, to the cost of their Teacher, as, God willing, shall be shewed hereafter.

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I. The news of Andronicus his being chosen joynt-Emperour, no sooner arrived at the ears of Maria Cafarissa, but

but she was drowned in a deluge of grief: being beholden to nature that she could vent her self in tears; seeing that sorrow, which cannot bleed in the eyes, doth commonly fester in the heart. And when her Nurse lovingly chid her, for excessive sadnesse, she pleaded her sex, which can scarce do any thing without overdoing; so that Feminine passions, must either not be full, or overslow.

2. But anger, soon after having got the conquest of her own grief, with surious speed she repaired to the place, where the Lords of the combination were assembled, and there

she abruptly vented her self in these Expressions.

3. Greece is grown barbarous, and quite bereft of its former worth; not so much as the ruines of valour left in you, to reach forth unto posterity, any signes that you were extracted from brave ancestors. Time was when the Grecian youth adventured for the Golden-fleece, you may now adventure for the Asses skinne, the dul Embleme of your own conditions: The merry Greek, hath now drowned the Proverb of the valiant Greek. Tame Traytors all! that could behold an Usurper, Mate and check your lawfull Emperour, and neither wag hand or tongue in opposition. Did my Father Manuel for this, impair his own, to raise your estates? He made you honourable and great: Oh that he could have made you gratefull! The best is, your very sin will be your punishment. And though your practise hath been so base, your judgement cannot be so blind as to believe, that your Channells of Nobility can have a stream, when the Fountain of Honour is dammed up, by your unworthinesse.

3. The Lords, though by their filence they seemed first to swallow her words, yet expression of Tame Traitours would not go down their Throats; the largest souls being narrowest in point of credit, and soonest choakt with a disgrace. Mamalus therefore in the behalf of the rest; Madam (said he) sufficeth it now for us, barely to deny your speech. Had you been a man, we should have proceeded to desie the Speaker. What your passion now condemnes in us for base; your judgement will not onely acquit, for right, and approve, for safe: but even commend for bonourable, and advantageous for our Master Alexius. Our Lives and Lands, are at the sole dispose, and the cruelt mercy of our enemies.

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We are instantly undone, if we whifper the least and lowest syllable of Loyalty, and utterly disabled from any future service to Alexius. We conceive it therefore better for a time, to bow to our Foes, rather then to be broken by them: To spare in words, and spend what we please, in thoughts. We want not a will, but wait a time, to expresse our reallity to the Emperour, with most safety to our selves, and effect for

bim, in a feason, least subject to suspition.

5. Pacified with these words, she was contented to at. tend the performance of the Promise, in time convenient; though never living so long, as to behold it, being prevented by violent Death. For now Andronicus began freely to rage in Innocent bloud, cutting off such Nobles as he thought would oppose him. Something like truth was alledged against them, to stop the Clamours of the multitude. And power never wants pretences, and those legall, to compasse what doth desire. They were indicted of Conspiracy against Andronicus; And Knights of the Post, (of the Devils own dubbing) did depose it against them. Yea, silence was not enough to preserve mens Innocence: some being accused that their Noses did wrinkle, or their Eyes wink, or their Fore-heads frown or their Fingers snap Treason against Andronicus.

- 6. In this his Epidemicall cruelty it was much, that a famous Jester of the Court escaped his fury. Of this fellow, his body downwards was a Foole, his head a Knave, who did carefully note, and cunningly vent, by the priviledges of his Coat, many State-passages, uttering them in a wary twilight, betwixt sport aud earnest. But belike, Andronicus would not break himself by stooping to so low Revenge, and made conscience in breaking the ancient Charter of Jesters, though wronging the Liberty of others, of greater Concernment.
- 7. Of fuch as were brought to publick Execution, it was strange to behold, the difference of their demeanour. Some, who were able to be miserable, with an undaunted mind, did become their afflictions, and by their Patience made their miseries to smile, not bowing their Souls beneath themselves,

themselves, onely appealing for Justice in another world. Others did foolishly rage, and ramp, mustring whole Legions of Curses, as if therewith to make the Axe turn Edge. And then seeing no Remedy but death, their Souls did not bow by degrees, but fell slat in an instant; of Lyons, turning Calves, half dead with fear, received the fatall stroak of the Executioner. So many were consuledly hudled to death, it is hard to rank them in order, onely we will insist on some principall persons.

8. First, Maria Casarissa, and her Husband (whether it was Conscience or Manners, not to part man and wise;) and because Andronicus durst not, for sear of the People, bring them to publick death, their Physitian was brib'd with Gold, which he conceived cordiall for himself; And thereupon he did quickly purge out both their Souls by Poyson, (an unsuspected way,) which robs men of their lives, and yet never

bids them to stand.

9. Next followed Xene the Mother Empresse being accufed of high Treason for attemping to betray the City of Belgrade, to Bela K. of Hungarie. A pack't councell condemn'd her to death, which though otherwise vitious, was generally bemoaned, as most innocent in this particular. But, Andronicus the Emperour, cunningly derived the whole hatred hereof on young Alexius (whose power he never used or owned, but onely to make him the Cloak-father for odious Acts) urging him to fign the Warrant for her execution. In the stout refusall whereof, Alexius shewed more Constancy then was expected to come from him, clearly answering all Arguments, herein shewing himself a child in Affection, and more then a child in Judgement. Whereupon Iome ground their presumptions, that his soul deserved better breeding, and that he was not to be censured for weaknesse of Capacity; but rather his friends to be condemned, for want of care, and himself to be bemoaned, for lack of Education. He flatly told Andronicus, that Nero was recorded Monster to all Ages, for killing his Mother: And that he would never consent to her death, that gave him life. 10. But

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10. But he proceeded to aggravate the crime of Xene, Belgrade being such a piece of strength, that it was a whole Province in effect. And though but a Town in Bulk, was a Kingdome in Benefit. All Greece awfully attending the fortune thereof. He minded Alexius, that Fathers of Countreys, should know no Mothers; but that Soveraignes affections are onely of kinne to the good and safety of their Subjects. Besides, (saith he) you need not scruple so much at her death, who is dead whilst living, and hath been many years drowned in Luxurie. So that what was cruelty in Nero, will

be Exemplary Justice in you.

11. Alexius rejoyned, that if his mother Xene was fo drowned in Luxurie, the more need she had to drown her finnes in penitent Tears, except it were conceived charity to kill both her foul and body. That Princes were not to own private affections, where they were destructive to the Common good, but might and must, where they consisted with the publick safety. Or else to become a Prince, would be all one, as to leave off to be a man. Grant Belgrade a strong Place; it was still in their own possession, and her intended Treason succeeded not. And therefore he conceiv'd it a middle and indifferent way, that she should be depriv'd of liberty for plotting of Treason, and yet be permitted to live, because the Plot took no effect: A cloister should be provided, whereto she should be close confin'd, therein to do Pennance for her former enormities. And in this Sentence, he conceived that he impartially divided himself betwixt the affection of a Child, and severity of a Judge.

highly commended him for his filiall care of his Mothers foul: Yet, said he, for the benefit thereof, fifty Fryers at my own proper charges, shall be appointed, which after her death, Night and day, shall daily pay their prayers in her behalf, whose sufferages are as well known above, as her Prayers are strangers there: it being to be presumed, that whilf she is living, the Heavens will be deaf to her, which so long have been dumb to them. Speak not of her Project that it took no effect: for had it succeeded, none would have called it Treason,

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but have beheld it under a more favourable Notion. He minded Alexius, that he had sufficient power of himself, being joynt-Emperour to put her to death: but that he would in no case deprive him of this peerlesse Opportunity of Eternizing his memory to posterity, and securing the State by his necessary Severity. For all hereaster would be deterred from attempting of Treason, as despairing of pardon, when they beheld the Exemplary justice on his own Mother.

13. Alexius still persisting in his denyall, Andronicus at last fell to flat menacing, yet so cunningly carryed it, that his threats did not seem to proceed from any anger, but from

love to the person, and grief for the perversenesse of Alexius. He protested he would no more break his sleep, he would stear the State no longer; Let even the Winds and the waves hereafter be the Pilots to that crazie vessell. He call'd the Heavens to witnesse, (before whom he entred a Caveat to preserve his own Innocence,) how he had tendred happi-

nesse to Alexius, but could not force it upon him, who wilfully resuled it. In a word, so passionate he was, and so violent was the stream of his importunity, that the young Emperour, either out of weaknesse, or wearinesse to swim against it, was at last carryed away with the Current thereof,

and subscribed the Warrant.

lemn Hunting in the Countrey was contrived, that there he might take his pleasure. In a Forrest not sarre off, a stately Stagge was lodged, ambitious (as they told him) to fall by the hand of an Emperour, or else to be dubbed an Hart Imperiall, if chancing to escape. All things being ready, Alexius is carried thither; but withall, those are sent along with him, which hunted this Hunter, markt all his motions, learnt the language of his looks, and hands, with the different Dialects of his severall singers, so that he could not speak a word, or make sign to any of his saithfull servants, but presently it was observed, and if materials, reported to Andronicus. None of his stiends durst shew any discontent. If any was seen sadly to wag his head, it was a certain sign

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that that head stood but loose on his shoulders, and by the next return, the news would be, that it was fallen off: so miserable was the condition of this Prince, and of all his followers.

But Andronicus had a Hind to hunt at home, and must provide for the Execution of Xene. And now to enter the tender years of his son Manuel, for great Actions, he thought first to bloud him with an Empresse, in private delivering the Warrant unto him. Behold here an unexpected accident! This good Child of a bad Father, (Grace can cut off the oldeft, and strongest Entail of Wickednesse) refused the Employment, alledging, there was no fuch dearth of Hangmen, that a Prince need take their Office; and that it was against his conscience, her Crime being rather pack't then prov'd, feeing the was never brought to answer for her felf: Hereat his Father mad with rage, rated and reviled him. Bastard, thou wert never true Eagles Bird, whose eyes are dazled at the Sun of Womans Beauty. What? doth thy Cowardize take Sanctuary at Conscience? He never climbes a Throne, that stands on such poore pretences. What if the never appeared to answer? where the fact it felf doth cry, it is needlesse for the offender to speak: Narrow-hearted fool! A Cottage is fitter for thee than an Empire. Have I pawned mine own foul, to found thy greatnesse, and am I thus requited? and so abruptly brake off into weeping.

16. Manuel Modest returned: I am forry Sir, you should pawn your soul for my sake, but however I am resolved not to loose mine own. Whosoever climbes a Throne without Conscience, never sits sure upon it. I had rather succeed to your private paternall possession, then to an ill-gotten Empire. Nor am I dazled at the Lustre of her beauty, but at the clearnesse of her Innocence; all men being generally Compurgatours for her integrity herein. Employ me, and try my valour in any other service. Command, and I will fetch the Lions onely heir out of his Den, both in sight and spight of Sire and Dam; onely herein I desire to be excused, and I hope deserve not to be accounted a Coward for fearing to commit a sinne. How much Andronicus was bemadded hereat, may easier be conceived, then exprest, to receive a sinall repulse from his own Sonne, insomuch as at the last he

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was fain to make use of Hagio Christophorites Stephanus, Captain of the guard (who alone of all the Lords of the Combination, stuck to him and was respected of him) and he very fairly took order to dispatch her, stissing her (as some say) betwixt two Pillows.

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17. The next News which took possession of the Tongues and ears of people, was the cruell and barbarous death of young Alexius: whilest, the vulgar did wonder that he dyed so soon, and the wise did more admire that he lived so long; and the disterence was not great betwixt him that was now but a Ghost, and whilest living but a shadow. *Basilius went too sarre to setch a sit Paralell out of the Roman History, to compare Andronicus and Alexius with old Fabius and sprightfull Marcellus; who might have met in the same story farre nearer, (because later by 100 years) a more lively resemblance in the Consulship of Falius Casar and Bibulus, whereof the one did all, the other drank all.

*Vide supra 2.lib.parag. 9.

18. The manner of Alexius his death was, that he had his neck broken with a Bow-string; the punishment in that place, (as still amongst the Turks) much used: and in this Tyrants Reign, the string did cruelly strangle more at home, than the Bow did valiantly kill abroad. This Bow-string (to make a short digression) was an Instrument whereon Andronicus used to play, and sportingly to make much Mirth and musick thereon to himself, calling it his medicine for all Malladies. For whereas (faid he) Purges were base, Vomits worse, Cupping painfull, Glifters immodest, bloud-letting Cruell; this Bow-string had all the opposite good qualities unto them. And the same did quench the heat of Feavers, drain the moisture of Dropsies, cure Plueisies without piercing a vein, stay the Virtigo, heal the Strangurie, by opening the Urine, and onely stopping the breath. This being one bale humour of Andronicus, (unworthy Civility and Chri-Itianity) to break jests on men in miserie, just as they were to die, As for the Gorps of Alexius (on whom he had practiled with his foresaid Medicine, they were most unworthily handled, and dead Bodies, though they cannot be hurt, An. Dom. |

may be wrong'd, especially of such eminent persons. 19. Now to refresh the Reader amid'st so many murders, and Massacres; it will not be amisse, to insert an unexpected Marriage. Alexius left Anna an Empresse Dowager. And some dayes after her husbands death, he addressed himfelf a Sutor unto her being to encounter with invincible difadvantages. First he came reaking with the bloud of slain Alexius. And what hope could he have that she would embrace that Viper, that had stung her other-self to death! Secondly the disproportion of his Age, being past seventy and what motly colour'd Marriage, would it make to joyn his gray to green! his cold November being enough to kill her Hourie May. Notwithstanding all this, he had formerly been so flesh't with fortune, he conceived he could never be lean afterwards; and knew that in matters of this nature, confidence in attempting, is more then half the way to successe.

20. First he possess did himself of her judgement, and made her believe that all his former undertakeings, were in service to her, grieving that Alexius did not valew the Pearl he wore. He protested there was nothing about him old but his hairs, which were dyed white not by his Age, but by his Carefulnesse for her preservation. Then, he assaulted her affection, principally pressing that Argument, which was never propounded to a meer woman, and returned with a deniall, namely, assuring her of power and greatnesse, promising she should be the Conduit, through which all his favours should passe, and all his people under his command, should be blest or blasted by her influence, neither were gifts wanting, and those of the largest size, bestowed on her Servants, (who promoted his cause) and the dullest bo dies work on the most subtill Souls, by the mediation of

fuch Spirits.

21. Now, whether it was out of Childishnesse, not being full fourteen, or out of sear, being farre from her friends, and her Person in his power; or out of pride, loath to abate of her former State; she assented to his desire. But to speak plainly, he sheweth himself to have store of leisure, and want

of work, who is imployed to find a Root in Reason, for all the fruit that grow's from Fancie: sufficeth it, she loved him affirming it, it was no wonder, that he should take a poore Ladies Affections captive, whose valour in the Field, had subdued the most manly of his Enemies.

22. To make this story passe for probable, we may fellow it, with the like in our English Chronicles. RICHARD the Third, though not so old, more ugly, then ANDRONICUS obtained the love, and was married to the Countesse of Warwick, the Reliet of Prince Edward (son to King Henry the sixth) whom the same Richard had slain at Teuxbury, she knowing so much, and he not denying it, They were namesakes, both Annis, and when they had cast up their Audit, both, I believe, might equally boast of their Bargains.

23. But Andronicus who was never unseasonably Amorous (but had his Lust subordinate to his Ambition and cruelty, when they gave him leave and leafure to profecute his pleafure) was not softned by the Dalliance of marriage, to remit any thing of his former Tyranny. He protested that he counted the day lost, wherein he had not kill'd or tortur'd some eminent Person: or else, so planett-struck him with his frowns, that he enjoyed not himself after. He never put two men together to death after the same way; as not consisting with his state to wear one torture threed-bare, but ever appeared in exchange, and variety of new manner of punishments. And it any wonder, that there was not a generall infurrection made against this monster of mankind, to rend him from the Earth; know that he had one humour, that did much help him, in being stern and cruell to Noblemen but affable and courteous to poore people, and so still kept in with the vulgat. Besides, many stately Structures he erected, and sweetned his cruelties with some good acts for the Publick. Now that we might not feem to have weeded the life of Andronicus, or to be a kin to thole flies, which travelling by many fragrant Flowers, onely make their relidence, on some sore, or Dunghill, we will recount some of

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An. Dom. his good deeds, and pitty it was, that they had not proceed.
1181. ed from a better Authour.

24. He surveyed the Walls of Constantinople, and mended them, wherefoever the chinks thereof did call for reparation. He pluckt down all the buildings without (yet so, that the owners sustained no losse thereby) for fear in case of an enemies invasion, those houses might serve them for ladders to scale the City with more ease. Thus all Constantinople was brought within the compasse of her Walls, (as she remains at this day) not like many ill proportioned Cities in Europe, which groan under over-great Suburbs (so that the Chil. dren overtop the Mother) and branch themselves forth into out-Streets, to the impairing of the root, both weakning and impoverishing the City it self. He bestowed great cost in adorning the Porphyrie Throne, which an Usurper did provide and beautifie, for a lawfull Prince to fit upon it. He brought fresh water, (a Treasure in that place) through a Magnificent Aqueduct, into the heart of the City, which after his death was spoyled out of spight (as private revenge in a furious fit, oft impairs the publick good) people disclaiming to drink of his water, who had made the streets runne with bloud. His benefaction to the Church of forty Martyrs amounted almost to a new founding thereof, intending his Tombe in that place, though it was arrant presumption in him who had denied the right of Sepulture to others, to promile the Solemnity thereof unto himfelf.

25. But that which gained him the greatest Reputation farre and near, even amongst those that never saw his face, was, an Edict for the saving of Ship-wrackt goods. There was amongst the Greeks a constant practise, founded in cruelty, and strengthned by custome; that if a vessell was discovered in danger of drowning, those on the shore like so many ravenous Vultures, slockt about that Carkasse to pick out the eyes thereof, the wealth therein. These made all their Hay in soul weather, which caused them not onely duly to wait, but heartily to wish for a Tempest: And as the wicked Tenants in the Gospel concluded to kill the Heir that

To the Inheritance might be their own, These remorflesse men, to An. Dom. prevent future Cavills and clamours about the goods, dispatcht the Mariners, alwayes by wilfully neglecting their preservation, and too often by down-right contriving their destruction. More cruell then the very stocks and stumps of Trees, which growing by Rivers sides, commonly hang over the water, as if out of pity tendring their service to such as are in danger of drowning, and stooping down to reach their hands to help them to the shore. Now, Andronicus taking this barbarous Custome into Cosideration, forbad it, for the time to come, on most terrible penalties, (and this Lion if enraged, would by his loudnesse roare Hearing into the deaf) and enjoyned all to improve their utmost endeavours for the prefervation of their persons. Hence followed fuch an alteration, that shiptwrack'd goods, if floating to land, safely kept themselves without any to guard them. Men would rather blow their fingers, then heat their hands with a rotten Planck; rather go naked, then cover themselves with a rag of Shipwrackt Canvas. It was ominous to steal the least inch of a Cable, least it lengthen it self into an Halter to him that took it. All things were preserved equally safe, of what value soever; and untold Pearl might lie on the shore untoucht, like so many Oyster-shels. This dispersed the fame of his Justice and Mercy into forraigne parts: And as sounds which are carried a long by the Rivers side, having the advantage of hollow Banks and the water to convey them, are heard sooner and quicker, then sounds of the same loudnesse over the Land; So the Maritim Actions of Princes concerning Trading, wherein Strangers as well as their own Native Subjects are interested, report them to the world in a higher Tone, and by a quicker passage, then any Land-lockt Action of theirs, which hath no further influence, but onely terminates in their own Kingdome. Yea this one ingratiating Decree of Andronicus, did set him up with so full stock of Reputation, that upon the bare credit thereof, he might now runne on score the committing of many Murthers, & never have his name once called to accompt for any injustice therein. 003 26. And

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26. And as the Sea-men by water, so the Husband-men by land (and those we k now have strong Lungs, and stout sides) cryed up the fame of Andronicus, because he was a great preserver of Tillage, and Corn was never at more reasonable rates then in his Reign. He cast a strict eye on all Customers and Tax-gatherers, and (as evil Spirits are observed to walk much about filver Mines, fo) Andronicus did inceffantly haunt all publick receivers of money; and, finding them faulty, oh excellent sport for the people to see how those Sponges were squeezed! He allowed large and liberall maintenance to all in places of Judicature, that want might not tempt them to corruption. Thus, even the worst of Tyrants light fometimes on good actions, either stumbling on them by chance, or out of love (not of virtue, but) of their own fecurity. They are wicked by the generall Rule of their lives, and pious by some Exceptions; just by fits, that they may be more safely unjust when they please. And hereby Andronicus advanced himself to be tolerable amongst Man-kind.

27. We could willingly afford to dwell longer under the Temperate Climate of his Virtues; but Travellers must on their journey. Come we now to the Third Zone of his Fury, which indeed was not habitable: His Foes he executed, because they were his foes; and his friends, because they were his friends. For they that let out a Courtesie at Interest to a Tyrant, commonly loose the Principall: Witnesse Conto-Stephanus, the great Duke, Admirall of the Galleyes, who by betraying his trust brought Andronicus to Constantinople, and now fairly had his eyes put out. As for Georgius Dissipatus, Andronicus intended to roast him, being a Corpulent man, upon a Spit, affirming that such fat Venison wanted no Larding, but would bafte it felf, and meant to serve him up as a dainty dish in a Charger or Tray to his Widow, had not some intervening accident diverted it. He made a bloudy Decree, which had a train of indefinite and unlimited extent, and would reach as farre as the defire of the measurer; namely, that all such of the nobility which were now, or should hereafter be cast into Prison, should be executed

without

without any legall Triall, with their Children and Kindred. Prince Manuel, (whose worst fault was that Andronicus begat him) in vain opposed this Decree, alledging this to be the ready way for his Father to un-Emperour himself, by destroying that Relative Title, and leaving himself no Subjects.

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- 18. But Andronicus had found Scripture, whereby to justifie his Act, and brought S.* Paul for his Patron, whose practise and confession he cited: For the Good that I would, I do not; But the evil which I would not, that I do. Now if I do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sinne that dwelleth in me. God keep us from Apocrypha-Comments on Canonicall Scripture; send us his pure Text without the glosse of Andronicus, who belike conceived he could not be a persect Tyrant, by onely torturing of men, except also he did rack Gods Word, rending Text from Context, and both from their true intent.
- 29. This Decree startles such Lords of the Combination as were lest alive, together with Mamalus, principall Secretary to the late Emperour, and Alexius Ducas, the most active, but not nearest, Prince of the bloud. These meeting together, much bemoaned themselves, till Mamalus counting such puling passion beneath Masculine spirits, thus uttered himself:
- 30. You late adorers of Andronicus, who did conceive it would pose the power of heaven to cure the State, save onely by his hand, be your own Judges, whether it be not just that they should die of the Physick who made a God of the Physician. Diseases do but their kind, if they kill, and an evil expected is the lesse evil: but no such Torment as to die of the remedie. Onely one help is lest us, if secretly and speeduly pursued. We know, Isaacius Angelus by birth and merit is intitled to the Crown. True, he lives privately in a Covent, but worth cannot be hid, it shines in the dark; and greatnesse doth best become them to wear it, by whom it is found before it is sought for, as more deserved then desired by them. Say not that he is of too mild a disposition; for his soft temper will make the better Pultis for our sore necks, long gauled with the yoke of Tyranny. And seeing we have

have thus long been unhappy under the extremities, the child-hood of Alexius, and old years of Andronicus, let us try our fortunes under the middle age of Isaacius: And no doubt we shall light on the blessed

mean and happy temper of Moderation.

13. The motion found entertainment beyond belief. And yet Alexius Ducas offer'd it to their consideration, that so meek a Dove would never make good Bagle; giving a Character, how a Prince should be accomplished with valour and experience; by infinuation defigning himself. It is pleasant to hear a proud man speaking modestly in his own praise, whil'st the Auditours affect a wilfull deafnelle, and will not hear his whispering and slenting expressious, till at last he is fain to hollow down-right Self-flattery into their Ears. Here it fared thus with Ducas, who thereby onely exposed himself to contempt: and perceiving no successe, zealously concurr'd with the rest for advancing of Isaacius. All necessary particulars were politickly contrived, each one had his task appointed him; some to seize on the ships, others to fecure the Palace & make good the great Church: and the whole modell was exactly methodized, confidering the vast Volume thereof, which confifted of many persons of quality therein engaged.

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But great designs, like wounds, if they take Aire, corrupt. This project against Andronicus, could not be covertly carried, because consisting of a medly of persons of different tempers, and un-suiting souls, having private intents to themselves, not cordiall, uniting their affections, but onely Friends for the time being, against the common Foe: So that through the Riftes and chinks of their severall aims and ends, which could not be joynted close together, the vigilancie of Andronicus did steal a glimps of their design, apprehensive enough to light a candle for himself from the spark of the smallest discovery.

2. And now let him alone to prevent their proceedings, by cutting both them and theirs off (that no mindfull heir might succeed to their spite) and that withall possible speed;

for he steer'd his actions by the compasse of that character, which one made of him, as followeth.

An. Dom.

I love at leasure, favours to bestow:

And tickle men by dropping kindnesses slow,
But my revenge, I in one instant spend,
That moment which begins it, doth it end.

Half doing undoe's many, 'tis a finne Not to be foundly finfull; to begin, And tire; I'le do the work. They strike in vain Who strike so, that the stricken might complain,

3. Mamalus was the first who was brought to Execution, on this manner. A mighty fire was made, and to provoke the Tyrannie thereof (as if that pure Element of it self had been too fine and slender, effectually to torment him) they made the flame more stiffe, and stuffie, by the mixture of pitch and brimstone. Then Mamalus was brought forth stark naked, insomuch that all ingenuous beholders, out of a modest Sympathy, conceived, that they saw themselves naked, in feeing him: and therefore, (as much as lay in their power) they covered him, by shutting their eyes. When the Souldiers with Pikes, were provided to thrust Mamalus into the fire, whilest many Spectatours durst not expresse their pittie to him, out of pittie to themselves; lest commiserating of him, should be understood complying with him; but were cautious to confine their Compassion, within the Compasse of their brest, that it should not sallie forth, into their eyes, and outward gestures.

4. Betwixt this Dilemma of Deaths, the sharp Pikes of the Souldiers on the one side, and surie of the fire, on the other; he preferred the former, not as most honourable, and best complying with a military Soul; (not being at leasure alasse, in time of torment, to stand on terms of credit,) but as least painfull. But the Souldiers denied him this choice, and forced him into the fire; and then hearing his

Shreeks,

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Shreeks, even those who refused, out of favour, to give any pitty to his person, could not, out of justice, deny the payment of some compassion, (bound there-unto, by the Specialtie of Humanity) unto his miserable condition.

5. Mean time, Andronicus, was a spectatour, tickling himfelf with delight, onely offended, that the sport was so short, and Mamalus dead too foon. The stench of whose burning flesh (offensive to others) was a perfume to him, who had the Roman-Nose of Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and such Monsters of cruelty. And, as he pleased his own smell, with the Odour of Revenge; his fight, with beholding the execution; his Eare with the Musick of his enemies dying Groans: So, there wanted not those that wisht, that his other senses, were also imployed, according to his deserts, his Touch and Tast, that they might feelingly partake of the torture of the fire. Thus dyed Mamalus, scarce twenty four years of Age, before the Bud of his youth had opened into a flower, having in his parts, not onely promises, but some assurance, that the hopes of his future worth, should be plentifully performed, had not this untimely accident prevented it.

6. Lapardas acted next on the Scaffold, though not condemned to death, but to have his eyes bored out: His Extraction was noble, State great, Pride greater; to maintain which, he contrived the Advancing of Andronicus to the Throne: the under ground Foundation of whose greatnesse, was closely laid, by Lapardas whil'st he left the vilible Structure thereon, to others. Like a Mole he conveyed his train, closly spurring on Basilius (who posted of himself,) to act in odious Projects, whil'st himself sculk't unseen; hoping, if matters held, to be rewarded by Andronicus for his secret service; if they miscaried, to provide for his own safety; seeing none could challenge him, of any appearing open ill Actions wherein he was engaged.

7. But quickly he fell off of his speed in serving Andronicus, whether, because he conceived his deserts found not a proportionable Reward: or, because he bare a love to the

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person of Alexius: or, because he was not prefectly bad, and An. Dom. fainting in the way of wickednesse, could not keep pace therein, with the fast and wide strides of Andronicus, or which is most probable, he slowly perceived his Errour, that Tyrants pluck down those stairs, whereby they ascend to their greatnesse: and then, too late, began to unravell, what he weaved before. True it was, he had assisted Andronicus, so long, that he had offended all the fide of Alexius, and had deferted him so soon, that he dis-ingaged all the party of Andronicus and so was unhappy not to have the cordiall Affections of either.

8. On the Scaffold he spake little expecting that the pain would kill him, confessing he ow'd a Death, to Nature, and a violent Death to Justice, and forgave all the world, save his own self. Beholding the Sunne, Farewell (said he) Life of my life, my night must be at my noon; and then laying his hands on his eyes: Must I loose you thus? was it because I shot forth wanton Glances ? Or, beheld Rivalls, with envious looks ? Or, adored the Shine of Gold; that I must thus lose you? Or, was it, because I acted in a dark way, to advance the cruelty of a Tyrant; that now all my endeavours are seen by the world, and I must be blind? However, Divine justice appears clearest to me, in the losse of my Eyes. Thus was Lapardas tortured: and though some may think that Andronicus swerved from his Principles, taking away onely light, not life from him, and thereby rather more enraged him for, then wholly dilabled him from, revenge; yet we may be assured, that Tyrant did never so do his works by the half but that he strook out their Teeth, whose Eyes he bored out, so securing their persons, that he put them palt power of doing him mischief.

9. During this raging cruelty of Andronicus; we may commend, in Theodorus the Patriark, rather his successe, then policie, (his timple goodnesse being incapable of the later) who seasonably withdrew himself from Constantinople, to a private place he had provided in the Isle of Terebynthus: here he had built him an handsome house, equally distant from Envy and Contempt, Bravery and basenesse, so that if Security and

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sweetnesse had a mind to dwell together, they could not have found a fitter place for that purpose. Severall Reasons moved him to his speedy removall, besides the avoiding the fury of Andronicus. First, Because Basilius undermined him at the Court in his Patriarkship, Theodorus being absent thence, when present there; bearing onely the name and blame,

when the other had the power and profit thereof.

10. Secondly to avoid the fight of People, conceiving every Eye which did behold, did, accuse him, as a principall cause of their miseries, for helping Andronicus to the Empire. In whom Theodorus had been strangely mistook, as the best men are soonest deceived with the painted piety, and pensive looks of Hypocrites, counting all Gold that shines, all sooth, that is said; betraid by their own charitie into a good opinion of others. Lastly, it grieved him to see ignorance and impiety fo rampant, base hands committing dayly Rapes on the Virgin Mules; so that they might now even ring out the Bell, for dying learning, and fadly toll the knell for gasping Religion. Wherefore as Divines folemnly observe, to go off of the Bench just before the sentence of condemnation is pronounced upon the Malefactour; so this Patriark perceiving the City of Constantinople, Cast, by her own guiltinesse, and by the confession of her crying sinnes against her self; thought it not fit for him to stay there, till divine Justice should passe a finall fatall doom upon the place, (which he every minute expected) but embraced this private opportunity of departure.

11. Soon after his retiring, he ended his life: we need not enquire into his disease, if we consider his age, accounting now fourscore and four winters. And well might his years be reckoned by Winters, as wanting both Springs, and Summers of Prosperity, living in constant affliction. And yet the last four years, made more wounds in his heart, then all the former plow'd wrinkles in his face. He dyed not guilty of any wealth, who long before, had made the poore his Heirs, and his own hands, his executours. After hearty Prayers, that Religion might thine when he was set, falling

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into a pious Mediation; he went out as a Lampe, for lack of Oyle: no warning Groan was fighed forth to take his last farewell, but even he smiled himself into a Corps; enough to confute those, that they bely death, who call her grim and grizely; which in him seemed lovely and of a good complexion. The few servants he lest, proportioned the Funerall, rather to their Masters estate, then Deserts, supplying in their sorrow, the want of Spices, and Balme, which surely must be so much the more pretious, as the Tears of men are to be preferr'd before Gums, which are but the weeping of Trees.

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12. The Patriarks place was quickly supplyed by Basilius the Bishop, so often mentioned, preferred to the place by the Emperour. A Patron and Chaplain excellently met; for what one made Law, by his List; the other endeavoured to make Gospel, by his Learning. In stating of any Controversie, Bafilius first studied to find out, what Andronicus intended or defired to do therein: and then let him alone to draw that Scripture, which would not come of it self, to prove the lawfullnesse of what the other would practice. Thus, in favour of him, he pronounced the legality of two most incestuous matches; and this Grecian Pope, gave him a dispensation to free him from all Oathes of Allegiance, which he had formerly sworn to Manuel or Alexius: for this was the Humour of Andronicus, to have Religion along with him, lo farre as it lay in his way, courting the company of pious pretence, (if possibly they might be procured) to counte. nance his defigns: But in case they were so toul, that no glosse of Justice could be put upon them; he disdained that Pietie which would not befriend him, and impudently acted his pleasure in open opposition of all Religion.

13. But whilst this Basilius was thus hot about his secular affairs; there wanted not an aged Hermite, who took him to task, and soundly told him his own, though it made but small impression in him. Meeting him at advantage; Hermites, you know, saith he, hate both Luxury and complement. In plain truth, I must chide you, that seeing, earth is but your Inne, and

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heaven your Home; you mistake the first, for the latter. Mans soul is so intent on its present object, that it is impossible, it should attend two callings at the same time, but must needs make default in the pursuance of one of them. Your temporall intermedling drawes the envy of the Laity, for whose love you should rather labour. Nor are you stor'd with forraign observations, really to enable you for such undertakings. Say not that you may meddle with temporall State-affairs. and yet not intangle your felf with them, feeing the world is such a Witch, it is impossible to do the one without the other. Observe those Clergy sticklers on the Civil Stage, and you shall seldome find them Crowned with a quiet death. Remember your Predecessour Chrysostome, who did onely Pray and preach, and Read, and Write thereby made happy in the despight of his Enemies: For though twice expell'd his Patriark ship, he was twice restord with greater honour; so that it was not want of Policy, which lost, but store of Piety, which caused him to recover his place again. Speak I not this out of any repining at the lustre of your preferment, who envy outward Honour no more then the shining of a Glo-worm, but meerly out of love to your person, and desire of your happinesse.

14. But Basilius, in some passion returned, I perceive you are lately broken loofe out of your Cell, which makes you more fierce and keen like Hawks when they are first unrhooded, and newly restored to the light. Know, Sir, one may well attend two Callings if they be subordinate, as the means and the end. All my secular Businesse is in order to the good of the Church. The love of the Laity unto us, without some aw mingled with it, can neither be long-lasting, or much serviceable. My Education hath admitted me into generall Learning, and made me capable of any imployment. Ideny not the World to be a Witch, but I know how to arm my foul with holy Spells against all her Inchantments. Whereas you say, one cannot meddle with worldly matters, but must intangle himself therewith, it is all one, as if you should affirm, that a temperate man cannot eat meat but he must surfet. Proofes from the event, argue not the justice or injustice of the Act; and nothing can be inferred from the ill successe of our medling in Jecular affaires. To your instance of Chrysostome, I oppose the example of Augustine Bishop of Hippo, who set in full brightnesse, and yet kept a Court in his own house, where he umpir'd and decided all

temporall controversies. You trample on that which you call pride in An. Domme, with that which is so in your self. And all this proceeds out of spight, because you cannot turn your Cowle into a Mitre.

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- 15. But Basilius was deat to all thele perswaltons, and joyning with Hagio-Christophorites Stephanus, (chief Engenier for Andronicus) advanced all cruell designes. And now Mamalus and Lapardus being executed, all others were poliest with a Panick fear: and no wonder when the string is broken, if the Beads be scattered. It being feared, that the Plot miscarryed, they strove to make themselves innocent, by first making others guilty. And yet it was vain to take the pains who should start quickest, when they all met even at the Post: For Andronicus took order that they were all alike exe-
- 16. There were two of his Creatures, Trypsycus, and Hagio-Christophorites Stephanus, who onely fell out, who should be most officious to him. Each had the other in jealousie, fearing his Rivall would engroffe the Emperour unto him. Especially Stephanus, was fearfull of Trypsicus; understanding that Andronicus wrote private Letters unto him, stiling him, his Beloved friend, with other expressions, which spake more intimacy then Stephanus was willing to hear. This Trypficus had been a dangerous Promoter in all company, Representing to Andronicus every fillable spoken against him, to the disadvantage of the speaker, and as one faith, (I conceive rather in the Language of the times, then his own) Every man then was to give an account of every idle Word. It happened therefore that one was procured, who accused Trypsicus for jeering of JOHN the Emperours eldest Son for Deformed, and that he scattered some loose expressions, bewailing the milery of the Times. Now, though the great Service which TRIPSIcus had done, might deserve to over-weigh so light an Offence; it cost him his life, Confiscation of his goods, and Ruine of his Posterity.
- 17. Now hath Stephanus room to Domineer alone in the favour of Andronicus, sending him to seize on Isaacius, who for the present was got out of his Covent. It was

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past the skill of the Spannel to catch him, who dived for the instant, but we shall find him in due time above water, and that to purpose.

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Security is the Mother of danger, and the Grandmother of destruction. Let Andronicus be a proof hereof, who now, nearest to his ruine, grew most confident, as
conceiving he had stop't every cranny, where danger might
creep in, and therefore in a bravery, he sent a defiance to
Fortune her self, which notwithstanding, was returned with

his own speedy overthrow.

2. Yet could he not justly complain, that he was suddenly surprised, seeing Nature might seem to have gone out of her way, to give him warning, and Nemesis did not hunt him so fast, but that she allow'd him fair Law to provide for himself, by severall Prodigies which happened at that time. But Andronicus, not onely against the full intent, but almost visible meaning, of the same Accidents, did make a jesting Construction of them, and was deaf to the loud language of

all ominous passages, as not relating unto him.

3. Being told of the apparition of a Comet, (no leigerstarre of Heaven, but an extraordinary Embassadour) portending his death, as some expounded it, he scoffingly replyed, that he was glad to see the heavens so merry, to make Bone-fires, for his Triumphs: And what was a Comet, but the Kitchin-stuff of the aire, which blazing for a while, would go out in a snuff: Adding, that that Starre might presage the fall of some Prince, that wore long hair, whereas, his was short enough; when another told him of an Earth-quake, which had lately happened, I am glad, saith he, that the Mother-Earth, fick of the Collick, had so good a went for her mind, Being informed that the Stature of Saint Paul, (his Tutelary Saint) was seen to weep; he evaded the sad presage thereof, by distinguishing on tears, there being an Homonymie in their language, as bearing not onely different, but contrary Senses, proceeding either from Mirth or Mourning; and therefore, that weeping might probably bably, fore-shew good successe In a word, all serious and solemn Omens, he tuned to a jesting meaning, keeping himself constant to his first principle; That, Fortune, when fear'd, is a Tyrant; when, scorn'd, is a Coward. But though he unjustly perverted the sense of these Prodigies; the event did truly in-

terpret them in his destruction.

- 4. For Isaacius Angelus persecuted by the Executioner, fled into the great Church, (in those dayes, the Sanctuary at large for Innocents) where, making an Oration to the people, he exceeded Expectation, and himself, as if hitherto he had thriftily referved his worth (a serious, others say, simple man) to spend it more freely when occasion required it. He spake not like those mercinary people, which make their tongue, their ware, and Eloquence, their Trade; but he uttered himself so pathetically, that he did not court Attention, but command it. He made both his innocence, and the cruelty of Andronicus, to appear so plain, that the people not onely afforded him, protection for the present; but allo, bestowed on him Soveraignty for the future, and instantly elected, and proclaimed him, Emperour of Greece.
- 5. Stand we here still, and wonder what should be the Reason, that Andronicus should suffer this Isaacius, next Prince of the bloud, so long safely to survive, who had cut off other Persons of lesse danger, and lower degree. We cannot ascribe it to his incogitancy, as inconsistent with his vast memory, to forget a matter of such importance; leste can we impute it to his pitty, as if sparing him out of compassion: seeing that a Thred might sooner hope to be prolonged under the knife of Atropos, then any to find favour under his impartiall cruelty. Was it not then because he had him in his power? and counting himself sure to seize on him at pleafure; referved him, as Sweet-meat, to close his stomack, when first he had fed on severall Dishes of courser Diet: Or, because he slighted him, as a narrow hearted man, religiously bred in a Covent, unfit for a Camp, the object rather of his contempt, then fear, for that his hands might feem tied Pp3 with

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with his Beads, from being dangerously active, in the State. But, let us remove our wondring at this neglect of Andronicus, to make room for our admiration of divine Providence, who confounded this Politician in his own cunning. Thus the most expert Gamsters may sometimes oversee; and, Traitours, though they be carefull to cut down all Trees, which hinder their ambitious Prospect; will unawares leave one still standing, whereof their own Gallowes may be made.

6. Immediately all the Prisons in the City were set open, and those petty finks of diffolute people emptied themselves into a common Sewer, and became into a tumultuous Torrent. Headlong they hafte to the Pallace of Andronicus, where, not finding him at home, they wreckt their spight upon that beautifull building, and sumptuous furniture therein. Should I infift upon particulars, all forts of Readers would be sadded therewith. Ladies would lament the losse of so many Pearles and precious stones, whose very Cases were Jewells. Souldiers bemoan the spoyling of so magnificent an Armorie. But Schollers would be most passionate, to bewail the want of that Librarie so full fraught with rarities, that nothing abated the pretiousnesse, but the Plenty of them. Many records, (the Stairs whereby Antiquaries climb up into the knowledge of former times) were torn in pieces, though we need not believe them so old, as that some of them had escaped Noah's floud, and were now drowned in a popular Deluge.

7. Nothing was preserved whole and entire. Whether, because they pretended some Religion in Revenge, as not aiming, out of Covetousnesse, to enrich themselves, but out of Justice; to punish the Tyrant: or because they thought the very Goods of Andronicus, were become evil, guilty of their owners faults, and therefore were all to be abolished as execrable: yea, as if the very Chappel it self, which he had built, had been un-hallowed, by the Prophanenesse of the Founder; with the Utensils thereof, it was defaced. A stately Structure it was, Andronicus not being of their opinion, who conceiving an holy horrour to live in dark and humble

Cells,

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Cells, fancie not Triumphant Churches, for fear that their An. Dom. Hearts be there lost in their Eyes. But he professed his Devotion to rife with the roof of the Church; fo that his foul feemed to anticipate heaven, by beholding the Earnest thereof in a beautifull Temple. However, now his Chappel was laid flat to the ground; and, amongst other things therein of ineltimable value, the Letter, which, by tradition, was reported to be written by Christs own hands, to Abgarus King of Edessa, then was embezeled. So irresistable is the Tyranny of a Tumult; and therefore, it may be all good mens Prayers, that the People may either never understand their own power, or alwayes use it a-right.

8. Andronicus, as we faid before had fecretly conveyed himself away. Who would not have thought, but that this great Fencer should have been provided of variety of Guards, against all the crosse blows of Fortune; at least, to have had some impregnable place, near hand, to retire unto? Whereas he had no other Policy to escape, then that poor shift, which the filly timple Hare useth against the Hounds, by fly= ing before them. Indeed had the Conspiracy against Andronicus, been but locall, or partiall, so that he had any sound part to begin on, he would probably have made refistance, (as Physicians must have some strength of Nature in their Patient, to practice on,) but the defection from him was fo generall and univerfall, he found not any effectuall friend lest him. Onely he had scrap'd together a masse of Coyne, more trulting in money, then men, hoping, in forraign parts, to buy some friends therewith; knowing that Gold, if weight, is current in all Countreys. Then taking Anna his Empresse, and Maraptica his whore, with some few servants, he durst confide in, and the Treasure he had formerly provided, he made speed, in a Pinnace, through the black Sea, to the Tauro-Scythians, out of the bounds of his Empire, hoping there to live in quiet. And because we have mentioned Anna the Empresse, we cannot passe hereby in silence. For if

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one would draw a map of miserie, to pair like years, with

like mif-hap, 'tis heard to find a fitter Pattern.

9. Daughter

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9. Daughter she was to the King of France, being married a child (having little lift to love; and lesse, to aspire) to the young Emperour Alexius, whilst both their years, put together, could not spell Thirty. After this, she had time too much, to bemoan, but none at all, to amend, her condition, being slighted and neglected by her husband. Oft-times being alone (as forrow loves no witnesse) having room, and leisure to bewail her self, she would relate the Chronicle of her unhappinesse, to the walls, as hoping to find pitie, from stones, when men prov'd unkind unto her. Much did she envie the felicity of those Milk-maids, to which each morning passe over the Virgin-dew, and Pearled-grasse, sweetly finging by day, and foundly fleeping at night, who had the priviledge freely to bestow their affections, and wed them, which were high in love, though low in condition: whereas, Royall Birth had denyed her that happinelle, having neither liberty to chuse, nor leave to refuse; being compell'd to love, and sacrificed to the Politick ends of her potent Parents.

10. But Anna, unhappy at her first Voyage, hoped to better her Condition by a second Adventure; yet made more halt then good speed, marrying Andronicus some weeks after the death of Alexius. Surely there is an Annus luctus, A year of mourning, which the modesty of widows may do well to observe, least neglecting it in their widdow-hood, it be required of them afterwards, with Interest, in the ill successe of their second marriage. For, Maraptica, a proud Harlot, but excellent Musician, justled with Anna in the Emperours affection: (and half an old Husband was too much for a young Lady to spare) and in processe of time, prevailed toobtain violent possession. The Empresse, knowing her self honest, and amiable, stood on her Deserts; not descending to beg that love, which she conceived due unto her, but daring him to detain it at his own perill, seeing he wronged himtelt in wronging of her, forfeiting his Troth, which he had publickly pledged unto her. But, the Curtizan, knowing that that love needs Buttresses in Cunning, which hath no foundation

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foundation in Conscience; applyed her self in all particulars to be complizant to the desires of Andronicus. This Maraptica, though she had fair fine singers to play on the Lute, had otherwise soul great Clutches, to snatch, grasp, and hold, whatsoever she could come by. And knowing that she had but a short Term in the Tenement of her greatness, (subject both to the mortality and mutabilitie of Andronicus) and withall, that she was not bound to reparations, therefore cared not what wast she made; but, by wrong and rapine scraped together a mais of money. Mean time, Anna was kept poor enough; who, whil'st Maid, Widdow, and Wife, (twice a Bride, before once a Woman) scarce saw a joyfull day; though born of a King, and wedded to two Emperours.

11. But to return to Andronicus, who pursued after by his guiltie conscience, found no rest in himself; so that for many nights, sleep was a stranger unto him. He that had put out other mens eyes, could not close his own; and when Nature in him starv'd, for want of rest, did at last hungerly snatch at short slumbers. Dreams did more terrifie, then sleep restresh him. His active fancy in the night did descant on what he had done before. Sometimes, the pale Ghost of Alexius seemed with glowing Pincers to torment him, otherwhile Maria Casarissa stitch hot burning Needles through his side; and, not long after, two streams of reeking bloud seemed to slow out of the eyes of Lapardas, wherein Andronicus for a while seemed to swim, till, beginning to sink, to save himself, he caught hold on his Pillow, and so did awake.

12. When awaked, his mind was musing upon a Prophesie, which some dayes since was delivered unto him: For he had employed an Agent, unto one Seth, an old Conjurer, to know of him what should be the name of his next successour in the Empire. Now, first a great S. was presented in a Bason of water; and next that, an I. but both so doubtfully delineated, that they were hardly legible: done on purpose for severall Reasons. Because it stood not with the State of the Prince of Darknesse, to be over-clear in his Acts; and those that vent bad wares love to keep blind shops:

Besides,

An. Dom.

Besides, obscurity added venerations to his Oracle, and active Superstitious Fancies, whet with the difficulty of them, would be sharp-sighted to read more then was written, But the main was to save his own credit, taking covert of Mysticall Expressions, that in case Satan should fail in his Answers, he might lay the blame on mens understanding him.

13. Put then these two Letters together, S. I. and read them backwards I. S. by an Hysterosis, and take a part of the whole by a Synecdoche; (all favourable Figures must be used, to piece out the Devils short skill in future Contingents) and then Andronicus was told by the Conjurer, he had the name of his Successour. Ask me not why Hells Alphabet must be read backward, let Satan give an account of his own Couzinage: whether out of an apish imitation of the Hebrew, which is read retrograde, or, because that ugly filthy Serpent, crawles Cancer-like, or to make his Answers the more AEnigmaticall, for the reasons aforesaid. Andronicus by this I. S. understood I Saurus Comnenus, who lately, by Usurpation, had fet up a Kingdome in the Ille of Cyprus, and therefore alwayes observed him with a jealous eye, and now too late perceives his errour, and finds the Prophetie performed in Isaacius Angelus.

14. Thus, those that are correspondents with the Devil, for such intelligence, have need when they have receiv'd the text of his Answers, to borrow his Comment too, lest otherwise they mistake his meaning. And, men may justly take heed of Curiosity, to know things to come; which is one of the kernels of the forbidden Fruit, and even in our Age sticks still in the throats of too many, even to the danger of choak-

ing them, if it be not warily prevented.

might partly be imputed to men, and second causes: Whereas now divine justice, to have its power praised in its punishments, seemed visibly to put out a hand from heaven; and he wants eyes, that cannot, or shuts them, that will not, behold it. See now the Gally, wherein he sayled, having all the Canvas thereof, employed with a prosperous Wind, when suddenly

fuddenly it was checkt in the full speed, and beaten back with foul weather into a small Harbour, called Chele. Soon after the winds ferving again, he fet forth the fecond time, and had not made many leagues, when Neptune with his Trident thrust him back again; such was the violence of the Seas against him A third time he fet forth with a fair Gale, when instantly the wind changing forced him to return. Here, what tugging, what Towing, what Rowing! nothing was omitted, which Art, or Industrie, Skill or Will, could perform: Andronicus, dropping a shower of Gold to the Saylers, to reward the Sweat that fell from them. All in vain: For as, indeed, he had offended the Fire, with the Innocents he burnt therein: angred the Aire, with hundreds of Carkasses, which therein he had caused to be hanged: provoked the Earth, by burying men alive in her Bosome So, most of all he had enraged the Water against him, (now mindfull of his Injuries) by him made a Charnnell-house, and generall Grave, into which, the body of the young Emperour ALEXIUS was cast, with thousands of his Subjects. God, herein to prevent all mis-constructions of Casualty (which otherwise men might fasten upon it,) and knowing that men are flow in their Apprehensions, and dull in their Memory to learn the Lessons of his Justice, he re-iterated and repeated it three severall times, that the most blockish Scholler, might learn it perfectly by heart: This is the work of the Lord, and it may justly seem marvellous in our eyes. Thus An. DRONICUS was, the third time; lent back to the place from whence he came, and so to the place of Execution. For he was no fooner come to the shore, but Servants, employed by Isaacius, (who had way-laid all the Ports on the Black Sea) stood ready to Arrest him.

Ndronicus having now left him neither Army to fight, or legs to flie; (being in the possession of his Enemies) betook himself to his Tongue, bemoaning his Case, and with Tears, begging their favour. But those Eyes, which, weeping in jest, had mock'd others so often, could not now be trusted, that they were in earnest. The storm at Land was

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more

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Chains were put about his neck, (in Mettle and weight, different from them he wore before) and loaden with Fetters and Insolencies from the Souldiers, (who, in such Ware, seldome give scant measure) he was brought into the presence of Isaacius. Here the most mercifull and moderate contented themselves with Tongue-revenge, calling him Dog of uncleannesse, Goat of Lust, Tygre of Cruelty, Religions Ape, and Envies Basilisk. But, others pull'd him by the Beard, twitch't the hair left by Age on his head, and proceeding from depriving him of Ornamentall Execrements, dash't out his teeth, put out one of his eyes, cut off his right hand, and thus maimed, without Surgeon to dresse him, man to serve him, or meat to feed him, he was sent to the publick Prison amongst Thieves and Robbers.

2. All these were but the beginning of evil unto him. Some dayes after, with a shaved head crowned with Garlick, he was set on a scab'd Cammell, with his face backwards, holding the Tail thereof for a Bridle, and was led clean through the City. All the Cruelties which he in two years and upwards, had committed upon severall persons, were now abbreviated and Epitomised on him, in as large a Character, as the shortnesse of the time would give leave, and the subject it self was capable of: they burnt him with Torches & Fire-brands, tortur'd him with Pincers, threw abundance of dirt upon him; and withall, such filthinesse, that the Reader would stop his Nose, if I should tell him the composition thereof; it is enough to say, that the worst thing that comes from Man, was the best in the mixture thereof.

3. Such as consult with their Credit will be cautious how they report improbable Truthes, fearing they will not be received for Truths, but rejected for improbable. Especially in this Age, wherein men resume their Libertie, conceiving it against the Priviledge of their sudgements, to have their Belief, (which should be a Voluntary) prest by the authority of others, to give credit to what bears not Proportion with Likely-hood. Could an old man (such as Andronicus was) passe the age of

man,

man, three-score and ten, who now onely lived by the Courtese of Death to spare him, endure such pain, three miles, through so populous a City? The Poets onely feigned Atlas to be weary of carrying of Heaven; but, must not our Andronicus be either stifled for want of breath, or back-broken with ftore of weight, under so much earth thrown upon him? And was it possible, that He, who, before these times, had one foot in the grave, should have the other not follow after, when driven with fuch crueltie?

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4. To render this likely, we may consider; first, that it was the intent of the People, not to kill, but to torment him. Secondly, when one Dish is to go clean through a Table of Guefts, men are mannerly; all, take some, though none, enough. Besides, he was one of a strong Constitution, whose Brawny flesh Nature had knit together with Horny Nerves. And yet, had he been a weak man, a Candle with glimmering light will burn long in a Socket, being thrifty of it felf. Life was sweet to Andronicus, under all those noisome smells; and he would not part with it, whilst he could keep it. But what was the main, it was possible God might support his life, either out of Justice, or mercie. (And, we read in * Scripture, of Men, that they shall defire to die, and death shall flee from them.) I say not of Justice, visibly to acquit himself, in the eyes of the world, by making fuch a Monster, the open Mark for Mans Revenge; or out of mercy, giving him a long and large time of Repentance, if he had the happinesse to make use thereof.

* Revel. 9. verse 6.

* 1/2i.56.6.

5. Behold here a strange Conflict, betwixt the Chieftle of the People on the one fide, and the patience of Andronicus on the other; and yet an indifferent Umpire would adjudge the Victory to the latter! No raging, no Raving, no Muttering, no Repining; but Iwallowed all in filence Onely he cryed out, Lord have mercy upon me : And, Why break ye a bruiled Reed! and sensible of his own guiltiness, he seemed contented to palle his Purgatory here, thatto he might efcape Hell heres alone does make them!

6. After multitudes of other Crielues, tedious to us to tehearle,

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An. Dom. hearfe, (and how painfull then to him to endure!) he was hanged by the Heeles betwixt two Pillars: In this posture, He put the stump of his right Arm, whose wound bleeded a fresh, to his mouth, so to quench (as some suppose) the extremity of his thirst, with his own Bloud, having no other moviture allowed him. When one ran a Sword thorough his Back and Belly, so that his very Entralls were seen, and feemed to call (though in vain) on the Bowells of the Spectatours, to have some compassion upon him. At last, with much a-doe, his foul (which had so many doores opened for it) found a passage out of his body, into another world.

Drexelius upon eternity, . Consideration,p.147.

7. Hear, how one of great * Learning, is charitably opinioned of his finall Estate, making this Apostrophe to his Ghost: Ob, Andronicus! Oh thou Emperour of the East! how much wast thou bound unto God, whose will it was, that for a few dayes thou shouldst suffer such things, that thou mightest not perish for ever! Those wast miserable for a short time, that thou mightest not be miserable for all eternity. I make no doubt, but thou hadst the years of Eternity in mind, seeing that thou didft suffer such things so constantly, and conragiously.

* Mat. 12. 20:

* Ifai. 58.6.

8. But doth not so strong Charity Argue a weak judgement? Delpair it self may presume of salvation, if such an one was faved. How improperly did he usurp that Expresfion comparing himself to a * Bruifed Reed, when, another Scripture-resemblance was more applyable unto him; of a * Bul-rush bowing down his head; onely top-heavy for the prefent, with sense of suffering, not inwardly contrited in heart, for the sinnes he had committed. Must not true Repentance have a longer featon to ripen it, and by works enfuing, to avouch to the world the fincerity thereof? Infomuch that, of late, some affirm that the good Thief on the Crosse did not then first begin but first renew this repentace, lately intersupted by a felonious Act. Allow Andronicus for a Saint; and we shall people Heaven with a new plantation of Whores and I hieves, and how voluminous will the Book of Martrys be, if Pain alone does make them!

9. On the other fide, we must be wary, how in our Confures,

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fures, we shut Heaven-doore against any Penitents. Farre be it from us to distrust the power of Gods mercy, or to deny the efficacie of true (though late) Repentance: the last groan which divorces the Soul from the body, may unite it to God: though the Arm of his body was cut off, the Hand of his faith might hold. All that I will adde is this, if Andronicus his loul went to Heaven, it is pitty that any should know of it, lest they be encouraged to imitate the wicked Premises of his life, hoping by his Example to obtain the same happy Conclusion after death.

10. After his execution, the tide of the Peoples fury did turn, who began to love his memory, and lament his Losse: Such as before were blinded with prejudice against him, could now clearly see many good deeds he had done for the Publick. And began to recount with themselves, many Soveraign Laws, which he had enacted: some bemoaned the misery which he had endured, as if his punishment was over-proportion'd to his desorts. Whether this pitie proceeded out of that generall humour of men, never to value things till they are lost; or, because their revenge had tormerly surfeited upon him, and now began to disgorge it self again; Or, which is most probable, this Compassion arose from the mutability and inconstancy of humane Nature, which hates alwayes to be imprisoned in one and the same mind; but being in constant Motion through the Zodiac of all Passions, will not stay long in the same Sign, and sometimes goes from one Extremity to another.

11. By this time Isaacius was brought by Basilius the Patriark unto the Throne, and placed thereon with all solemnity: then the Crown was put upon his head, on the top whereof was a Diamond-Crosse, (greatnesse and care are twins) which Isaacius kissed: I welcom thee, laid he, though not as a stranger, who have been acquainted with Crosses from my Cradle: Thou art both my Sword and my Shield; for hitherto I have conquered with suffering. Then weighing the Crown in his hand; it is (saith he) a beautifull burthen, which loads, more then it the semarkable increases and payalexity or

adorns.

12. Here

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12. Here Basilius the Patriarck made a Sermon-like Oration unto him, which, as it was uttered with much gravity, foit was heard with no lesse Attention, and embraced by the Emperour with great thankfulnesse. Not presuming, Sir, to teach you what you do not know, I am incited by my Calling, and encouraged by your Clemency, to put you in mind, of what otherwife you may forget. This Crown and Scepter were fent you from Heaven; onely we have done our duty in delivering them unto you. And now me thinks, that Divine Majesty perfectly shines in You his Image. These our eyes upheld, and folded hands, and bared heads, and bended knees are due from us to God, and we pay them to him, by paying them to you his Receiver. And we doubt not, but you will improve the Power and Honour bestowed on you, for the

protection of the people committed unto you.

12. In a mans body, whilst naturall Heat and radicall Moisture observe their limits; all is preserved in health: if either exceeds their bounds, the body either drowns, or burns. It fareth thus in the Constitution of the State, betwixt your Power, and our Prosperity; whilst both agree, they support one another : but, if they fall out, about Masterie, even that which over-comes, will be destroyed in a generall confusion. And if you should betray your Trust, though we bow, and bear, and figh, and fob, armed with Prayers and Tears; yet know, that our fad Mournings will mount into that Court, where lie the Appeals of Subjects, and the Censures of Soveraignes, which will heavily be inflicted by him, whom you represent. Speak I not this, out of any distrust of your Justice, but out of earnest defire of your happinesse, wishing, that the greatnesse of Constantine, founder of this place, the goodnesse of Jovian, the successe of Honorius, the long life of Valens, the quiet death of Manuel, the immortalt fame of Justinian, and "batfoever good was fingl'd on them, may joyntly be heaped upon you, and your Posterity.

14. Hereupon followed such a shout of the people, as the oldest man present had not heard the like; and all interpreted it as a token presaging the future selicity of the new Emperour. And thus we have presented the Reader, with the remarkable intricacie and perplexity of successe (as if

Fortune

Fortune were like to loofe her felfin a Labyrinth of her own making,) winding backward and forward, within the compasse of five years, with more strange varieties then can easily be pararell'd in so short a continuance of time.

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- 1. First, Alexius; no Andronicus.
- 2. Then, Alexius; and Andronicus.
- 3. Then, Andronicus, and Alexius.
- 4. Then, Andronicus; no Alexius.
- 5. Then, Ifaacius ; no Andronicus.

Thus, few strings curiously plaid upon by the cunning fingers of a skilfull Artist may make much Musick: and Divine Providence made here a miraculous harmony by these odd expected transpositions, tuning all to his own glory.

discharge my Trust, and be faithfull to the Truth, without taking some special observation of Basilius. We cannot forget how Active an Instrument he had been to serve the cruelty of Andronicus: and when first I looked wishly upon his hand (so bussed in wicked employments) I presently read his Fortune, that he should come to a violent death. The old * Hermite seemed to me a Prophet, to confirm me in my opinion, (when reproving him for stickling in temporall matters) and my conjectures grew confident, that this Patriark in processe of his time, would either shake of Mitre from his head, or his head from his shoulders. And, perchance, if the ingenuous Reader would be pleased freely to confesse his thoughts therein, he was possest with the same expectation.

16. How wide were we from the mark? how blind is Man in future Contingents? How wife is God, in crossing our conceits, leaving the world amused with his wayes? that men finding themselves at a losse, may learn more to adore, what they cannot understand! See Basilius, as brave, and as bright as ever ; and whilst all his Fellow-servants had their wages paid them by Andronicus, (some made

* Book 4. 13. Parag.

longer

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longer in their Necks, others shorter by their Heads) He alone survives in Health and Honour: which made most to admire, what peculiar Antidote of Soveraign virtue he had gotten, to preserve himself from the infectious surv of that

Tyrant.

17. But that which advanceth this wonder into the Marks of a Miracle, is, that this cunning Pilot, should so quickly tack about, when the wind changed, and ingratiate Himself with Isaacius. When times suddenly turned from Extreams; those persons which formerly were first in favour, are cast farthest behind, and they must be very active and industrious to recover themselves. But Basilius by a strange Dexterity, was instantly in the front of Fayourites, and, without any abatement, carried it in as high a strain as ever before; and, although (being weary already) I am loath to travell further into the Reign of this new Emperour, to see in the sequell thereof what became of Basilius at last; yet, so farre as I can from the best chosen Advantage discern aud discover his successe; no signal Punishment, above the ordinary Standard of Casualties, did befall Him; and, for ought appears to the contrary, he dyed in his bed.

18. Of such as seriously consider this Accident, some perchance may be so well stockt with Charity, as to conceive, that he repented of his former Impiety; and, thereupon was pardoned by Heaven, and came to a peaceable end. Others may conceive, that as, when a whole Forrest of Trees is felled, some aged, eminent, Oake, by the highwayes side, may be suffered to survive, as uselesse for Timber, because decayed; yet, usefull for a Landmark, for the direction of Travellers; so Basilius being now aged, and past dangerous Activity, was preserved for the Information of Posterity, and (when all others were cut down by cruell deaths,) he lest alone to instruct the ensuing age of the Tragicall passage which had happened in his Remembrance. But the most solid, and judicious will expresse themselves in the language of the Apostle, Some mens sinnes are open before-hand;

* i Tim. 5.

going

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going before to judgement, and some mens follow after. All notori- An. Dom. ous offenders are not publickly branded in the World with an infamous Character of shame or pain: but some carry their finnes concealed, and receive the reward for them in another world.

19. It onely remaineth, that we now give the personall description of Andronicus, so farre forth as it may be collected from the few extant Authours which have written thereof.

His Stature.

TE was higher then the ordinary fort of Men. He was feven full feet in length (if there be no mistake in the difference of the measure.) And whereas often the Cockloft is empty, in those which nature hath built many stories high; his head was sufficiently stored with all Abilities.

His Temper.

Famost healthfull Constitution, of a lively Colour, and vigorous Limbs; so that he was used to say, that he could endure the violence of any Disease for a Twelvemonth together by his fole naturall strength, without being beholding to Art, or any assistance of Physick.

III

His Learning.

E had a quick Apprehension, and solid judgement, and was able on any emergent occasion, to speak rationally on any Controversie in Divinity. He would not abide to hear any Fundamentall point of Religion brought into queftion; infomuch, that when once two Bishops began to contend about the meaning of that noted place, My Father is greater then I am, Andronicus suspecting that they would fall foul upon the Arian Heresie, vowed to throw them both into the River except they would be quiet. A way to quench the hotest Disputation, by an in-artificial Answer drawn from fuch Authority.

An. Dom.

IIII.

His Wives.

First, Theodora Comnenia, Daughter of Isaacius Sebasto Crator, his nearest kinswoman; so that the Marriage was most incestuous.

The second, Anna, Daughter to the King of France: of whom, largely before.

V.

His lawfull Iffue, both by his first Wife.

John Commenius his eldest sonne. It seems he was much deformed, and his Soul as cruell, as his body ugly. He assisted Hagio Christophorita-Stephanus in the stifling of Xene.

Manuel, his second sonne, of a most vertuous disposition. Let those, that undertake the ensuing History, shew how both had their eyes bored out by Isacius.

VI.

His Naturall Iffue.

I Meet with none of their names: and though he lived wantonly with many Harlots, and Concubines; yet (what a Father observeth) πολυγαμία ποιει ἀπικίαν Many Wives make few children. And it may be imputed to the providence of Nature, that Monsters (luch as Andronicus) in this particular are happy, that they are Barren.

VII.

His Buriall.

By publick Edict it was prohibited that any should bury his body; however, some were found, who bestowed, though not a solemn grave, yet an obscure bole upon him, not out of pitty to him, but out of love to themselves; except any will say, that his Corps, by extraordinary stench, provided its own buriall, to avoid a generall annoyance.

CHAP. 19.



CHAP. 19. The Life of Duke D' ALVA.

Erdinand Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alva, one bred abroad in the world in severall warrs (whom Charles the fifth more employed, then affected, using his churlish nature to hew knotty service) was by Philip the second, King of Spain, appointed Governour of the Netherlands.

At his first arrivall there, the loyalty of the Netherlanders to the King of Spain was rather out of joynt, then broken off, as not being weary of his government but their own grievances.

grievances. The wound was rather painfull then deadly, onely the skirts of their lungs were tainted, sending out discontented not rebellious breath, much regretting that their Priviledges, Civil and Ecclesiasticall, were infringed, and they grinded with exactions against their Laws and Liberties.

But now Duke D'Alva coming amongst them, he intended to cancell all their charters with his sword, and to reduce them to absolute obedience. And whereas every city was fenced not onely with severall walls, but different locall liberties, and municipall immunities, he meant to lay all their priviledges levell, and casting them into a flat to stretch a line of absolute command over them. He accounted them a Nation rather stubborn then valiant, and that not from stoutnesse of nature, but want of correction, through the long indulgence of their late Governours. He secretly accused Margaret Dutchesse of Parma, the last Governesse, for too much gentlenesse towards them, as if she meant to cure a gangren'd arm with a lenitive plaister, and affirmed that a Ladies hands were too foft to pluck up such thistles by the root. Wherefore the said Dutchesse, soon after D'Alva's arrivall (counting it lesse shame to set, then to be outshin'd) petitioned to relign her regency, and return'd into Italy.

An. Dom.
1568.
Famianus
stra de Bello
Belgico, pag.
430.

To welcome the Duke at his entrance, he was entertain'd with prodigies and monstrous * births, which happened in sundry places; as if Nature on set purpose mistook her mark, and made her hand to swerve, that she might shoot a warning-piece to these countreys, and give them a watch-word of the suture calamities they were to expect. The Duke, nothing moved hereat, proceeds to effect his project, and first sets up the Councill of troubles, consisting of twelve, the Duke being the President. And this Councill was to order all things in an arbitrary way, without any appeal from them. Of these twelve some were strangers, such as should not sympathize with the miseries of the countrey; others were upstarts, men of no bloud, and therefore most bloudy; who being themselves grown up in a day, cared not how many

they

they cut down in an hour. And now rather to give some colour, then any virtue to this new composition of counsellours, sour Dutch Lords were mingled with them, that the native Nobility might not seem wholly neglected. Castles were built in every city to bridle the inhabitants, and Garisons put into them. New Bishops Seas erected in severall cities, and the Inquisition brought into the countrey. This Inquisition, first invented against the Moores, as a trap to catch vermine, was afterwards used as a snare to catch sheep, yea they made it heresie for to be rich. And though all these proceedings were contrary to the solemn oath King Philip had taken, yet the Pope (who onely keeps an Oath-Office, and takes power to dispence with mens consciences) granted him a faculty to set him free from his promise.

Sure as some adventurous Physicians, when they are posed with a mungrell disease, drive it on set purpose into a sever, that so knowing the kind of the maladie they may the better apply the cure: So Duke D'Alva was minded by his cruell usage to force their discontents into open rebellion, hoping the better to come to quench the sire when it blazed

out, then when it smok'd and smother'd.

Chap. 19.

And now to frighten the rest, with a subtle train he seiseth on the Earls of Egmond and Horn. These counted themselves armed with innocencie and desert, having performed most excellent service for the King of Spain. But when subjects deserts are above their Princes requitall, oftentimes they study not so much to pay their debts, as to make away their creditours. All these victories could not excuse them, nor the laurel wreaths on their heads keep their necks from the ax, and the rather, because their eyes must first be closed up, which would never have patiently beheld the enslaving of their countrey. The French Embassadour was at their execution, and wrote to his Master Charles the ninth, King of France, concerning the Earl of Egmond, * That he saw that head struck off in the Marketplace of Brussels; whose valour had twice made France to shake.

This Counsell of troubles having once tasted Noble bloud,

* Fam.Strad. de bell.Belgico, pag. 449. * Grimst. Hist. of the Netherlands, pag. 413. bloud, drank their belly-fulls afterwards. Then descending to inferiour persons by apprehensions, executions, confiscations, and banishments, they raged on mens lives and states. Such as upon the vain hope of pardon returned to their houses, were apprehended, and executed by fire, water, gibbets, and the sword, and other kinds of deaths and torments: yea the bodies of the dead (on whom the earth as their common mother bestowed a grave for a childs portion) were cast out of their *tombes by the Dukes command, whose cruelty outstunk the noysomnesse of their carcases.

And lest the maintaining of Garisons might be burdensome to the King his Master, he laid heavy impositions on
the people: the Duke affirming that these countreys were fat
enough to be stewed in their own liquour, and that the Souldiers here might be maintained by the profits arising hence;
yea he boasted that he had found the mines of Peru in the
Low-countreys, though the digging of them out never quitted the cost. He demanded the hundredth peny of all their
moveable and immoveable goods, and besides that, the tenth
peny of their moveable goods that should be bought and
sold, with the twentieth peny of their immoveable goods;
without any mention of any time, how long those taxes and
exactions should continue.

The States protested against the injustice hereof, alledging that all trading would be press'd to death under the weight of this taxation: weaving of stuss (their staple trade) would soon decay, and their shuttles would be very slow, having so heavy a clog hanging on them; yea hereby the same commodity must pay a new tole at every passage into a new trade. This would dishearten all industry, and make lazinesse and painfulnesse both of a rate, when beggery was the reward of both, by reason of this heavy imposition, which made men pay dear for the sweat of their own brows. And yet the weight did not grieve them so much, as the hand which laid it on, being imposid by a forein power against their ancient priviledge. Hereupon many Netherlanders, finding their own countrey too hot, because of intolerable

taxes,

taxes, fought out a more temperate climate, and fled over

into England.

As for such as stayed behind, their hearts being brimfull before with discontents, now ran over. 'Tis plain these warres had their originall, not out of the Church, but the State-house. Liberty was true doctrine to Papist and Protestant, Jew and Christian. It is probable that in Noahs Ark the wolf agreed with the lamb, and that all creatures drowned their antipathy, whilest all were in danger of drowning. Thus all severall religions made up one Common-wealth to oppose the Spaniard: and they thought it high time for the Cow to find her horns, when others not content to milk her, went about to cut off her bag.

It was a rare happinesse that so many should meet in one chief, William of Nassaw, Prince of Orange, whom they chose their Governour. Yea he met their affections more then half way in his loving behaviour; so that Alva's cruelty did not drive more from him, then Nassaw's courtesse invited to him. His popular nature was of such receipt, that he had room to lodge all comers. In peoples eyes his light shined bright, yet dazled none, all having free accesse unto him: every one was as well pleased as if he had been Prince himself, because he might be so familiar with the Prince. He was wont to content those, who proved his too much humanity, with this saying * That manis cheap bought; who easts but a salutation.

I report the Reader to the Belgian Histories, where he may see the changes of warre betwire these two sides. We will onely observe that Duke D'Alva's coverousnesse was above his policy in sencing the rich inland and neglecting the barren maritime places. He onely look don the broad gates of the countrey whereby it openette to the continent of Germany and France, whilest in the mean time almost half the Netherlands have out at the postern doore towards the sea. Nassaw's side then wounded Achilles in the heel indeed, touched the Spaniard to the quick, when on Palm study (as if the day promised victory) at Brill they took the first livery and season of the land, and got soon after most cities

* Barcl. Icon. Anim. cap. 5.

towards

towards the sea. Had Alva herein prevented him, probably he had made those Provinces as low in subjection as situation.

Now at last he began to be sensible of his errour, and grew weary of his command, defiring to hold that staff no longer, which he perceived he had taken by the wrong end. He saw that going about to bridle the Netherlanders with building of castles in many places, they had gotten the bit into their own teeth: He saw that warre was not quickly to be hunted out of that countrey, where it had taken covert in a wood of cities: He saw the cost of some one cities siege would pave the streets thereof with filver, each city, fort, and sconce being a Gordian knot, which would make Alexanders sword turn edge before he could cut thorow it, so that this warre and the world were likely to end together, these Netherlands being like the head-block in the chimney, where the fire of warre is alwayes kept in (though out every where else) never quite quench'd though rak'd up sometimes in the ashes of a truce. Besides, he saw that the subdued part of the Netherlands obeyed more for fear then love, and their loyalty did rather lie in the Spanish Garisons, then their own hearts, and that in their fighes they breathed many a prosperous gale to Nassaw's party: Lastly, he law that forrein Princes, having the Spaniards greatnesse in suspicion, defired he might long be digesting this break-tast, lest he should make his dinner on them, both France and England counting the Low-countreys their outworks to defend their wall: wherefore he petitioned the King of Spain his Master to call him home from this unprofitable service.

Then was he called home, and lived some years after in Spain, being well respected of the King, and employed by him in conquering Portugall, contrary to the expectation of most, who look'd that the Kings displeasure would fall heavy on him, for causing by his cruelty the desection of so many countreys; yet the King savourably reslected on him, perchance to frustrate on purpose the hopes of many, and to shew that Kings affections will not tread in the beaten path

of

of vulgar expectation: or seeing that the Dukes life and state could amount to poor satisfaction for his own loss, he thought it more Princely to remit the whole, then to be revenged but in part : or lastly, because he would not measure his fervants loyalty by the successe, and lay the unexpected rubs in the allie to the bowlers fault, who took good aim though missing the Mark. This led many to believe that Alva onely acted the Kings will, and not willed his acts, following the instructions he received, and rather going be-

yond then against his Commission.

However most barbarous was his cruelry. He bragg'd as he fate at dinner (and was it not a good grace after meat) that he had caused eighteen thousand to be executed by the ordinary minister of justice within the space of fix years, besides an infinite more murthered by other tyrannous means. Yea some men he killed many times, giving order to the executioners to pronounce each syllable of torment long upon them, that the thred of their life might not be cut off but unrauell'd, as counting it no pain for men to die, except they dyed with pain; witnesse Anthony Utenhow; whom he caused to be tied to a stake with a chain in * Brusfells, compassing him about with a great fire, but not touching him, turning him round about like a poor beaft, who was forced to live in that great torment and extremity, roafting before the fire so long untill the Halberdiers themselves. having compassion on him, thrust him through, contrary to the will both of the Duke and the Spanish Priests.

When the city of Harlem lurrendred themselves unto him on condition to have their lives, he suffered some of the Souldiers and Burgers thereof to be starved to death, saying that though he promised to give them their lives, he did not promise to find them meat. The Netherlanders used to fright their children with telling them, Duke D'Alva was coming; and no wonder if children were scared with him, of whom their

fathers were afraid.

He was one of a lean body and visage, as if his eager soul, biting for anger at the clog of his body, defired to fret a pallage

*Grimft.Hift.

passage through it. He had this humour, that he neglected the good counsel of others, especially if given him before he ask'd it, and had rather stumble then beware of a block of anothers mans telling.

But as his life was a miroir of cruelty, so was his death of Gods patience. It was admirable, that his tragicall acts should have a comicall end; that he that sent so many to the grave, should go to his own, and die in peace. But Gods justice on offenders goes not alwayes in the same path, nor the same pace: And he is not pardoned for the sault, who is for a while reprived from the punishment; yea sometimes the guest in the inne goes quietly to bed, before the reckoning for his supper is brought to him to discharge.

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